# **PROCEEDINGS**

OF

# THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1912-1913

**VOLUME VI** 

EDITED BY

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA



THE TORCH PRESS CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA 1913 COPYRIGHT 1913 BY
THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

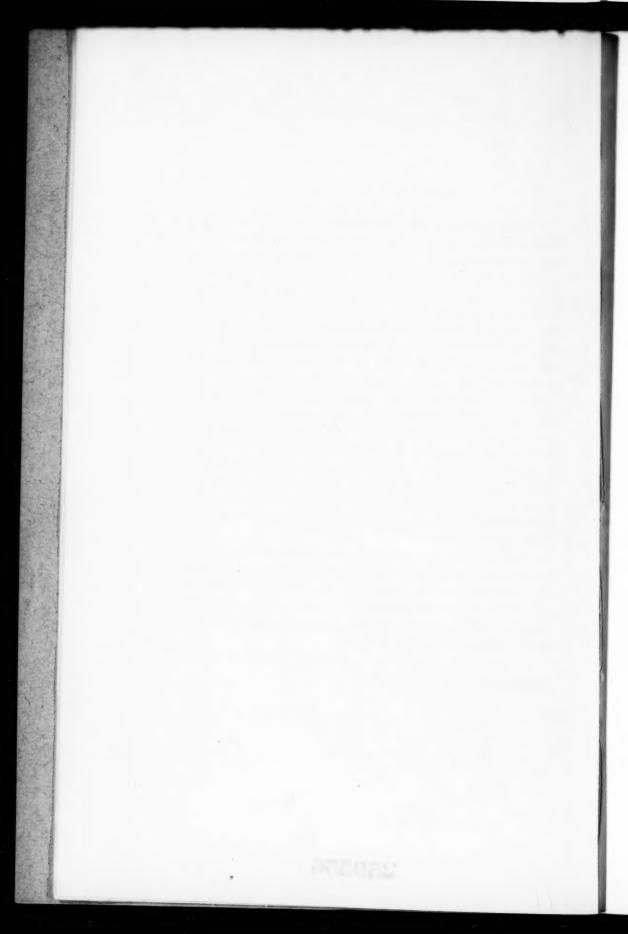
# EDITOR'S PREFACE

This volume of the Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association covers the transactions of the Association from the close of the fifth annual meeting in 1912 to the close of the sixth annual meeting in 1913. During this period two meetings of the Association were held - one at Boston, Massachusetts, on December 30, 1912, and the other at Omaha, Nebraska, on May 8, 9, and 10, 1913. The regular mid-year meeting was held at Boston, Massachusetts, in connection with the regular annual meeting of the American Historical Association. Omaha meeting was the sixth annual meeting of the Association. Papers and addresses delivered at both of these meetings are included in this volume. In connection with the Omaha meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association there was held the regular annual meeting of the Nebraska History Teachers' Association and a special meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society. papers read at these joint sessions are accordingly included in this volume.

For assistance in preparing the copy for the printers, and in reading the proofs the editor is indebted to Miss Ethyl E. Martin, Secretary to the Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa. The index was compiled by Dr. Dan E. Clark, Assistant Editor in the State Historical Society of Iowa.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA IOWA CITY, IOWA



# CONTENTS

Editor's Preface .								5
Constitution .								9
Officers for 1912-19	13 .							11
EXECUTIVE COMMITTE	EE OF T	EACH	ERS'	SECTI	ON			13
MEETINGS FOR 1912-19 DECEMBER MEETING								17
SIXTH ANNUAL ME	ETING							17
REPORT OF SECRETARY	-TREAS	URER,	MAY,	1913				41
Papers and Addresse The New England Fore 1833 By Solon	ELEM		ILLI	NOIS	Polr.	rics I	BE-	49
· New England and By Karl 1			N RE	SERVE		٠	٠	62
THE MAYFLOWER C By Lois K					NDANT	ś.		79
Economic Factors By Louis			UISITI	ON OF	Lou	ISIAN.	Α.	109
LOST LANDMARKS By HENRY		TES						129
THE ECONOMIC BA	ASIS OF	THE	GREE	NBACI	к Мо	VEME	NT	
IN IOWA AND By CLYDE				•				142
Asa Whitney: Fa By Nelso				RAILR	OADS			166
A FORGOTTEN PHAS	SE OF TH	ie Ne	w En	GLAN	D OP	POSITI	ON	
TO THE WAR O			DERSO					176

	Address of Welcome	189
	At the Meeting of the Trails: The Romance of a Parish Register	198
	THE NEW MADRID AND OTHER EARTHQUAKES IN MISSOURI	218
	SIGNIFICANT EVENTS DURING THE LAST YEAR OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE WEST	239
	NATIVISM IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY By Arthur C. Cole	258
	THE INDIAN POLICY OF THE COLONY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA IN COMPARISON WITH THAT OF THE ADJACENT AMERICAN TERRITORIES	276
	THE BLACK CODE IN MISSOURI	287
	THE ABORIGINAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE NEBRASKA COUNTRY	317
	A COURSE IN CURRENT HISTORY	332
	A Course in History for the Elementary Schools By Mattie Allen	339
	THE PRESENT DAY ENGLISH SOCIAL REVOLUTION By Howard W. Caldwell	344
	An Inspector's Observation of High School History Teaching	355
	Discussion	366
	Paul Cuffe and his Contribution to the American Colonization Society	370
1	NDEX	405

# CONSTITUTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

### I - NAME

The name of this organization shall be the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

# II - OBJECT

The object of the Association shall be to promote historical study and research and to secure coöperation between the historical societies and the departments of history of the Mississippi Valley.

# III - MEMBERSHIP

Membership in this Association shall be divided into three classes, namely: active, sustaining, and life members. Any one interested in the study of Mississippi Valley history may become a member in any of these classes upon payment of the dues hereinafter provided.

# IV - OFFICERS

The officers of the Association shall be a President, two Vice Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, who with six other active members, and such ex-Presidents of the Association as retain their membership therein, shall constitute the Executive Committee.

All officers shall be elected at the annual meeting and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected and have qualified, providing, however, that at the first election held hereunder two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected for one year, two for two years, and two for three years, and that hereafter two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually to hold office for three years.

# 10 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Executive Committee shall have general charge of the affairs of the Association including the calling of meetings and selection of papers to be read. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

# V - MEETINGS

A regular annual meeting and a mid-year meeting of the Association shall be held on such dates and at such places as the Executive Committee may determine.

# VI - DUES

The annual dues for individual active members shall be one dollar. The annual dues for library members shall be two dollars. Sustaining members — either individuals or institutions — shall pay five dollars annually. Any individual may become a life member upon the payment of fifty dollars.

### VII - AMENDMENTS

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at a previous meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Committee.

# OFFICERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR 1912-1913

PRESIDENT

REUBEN G. THWAITES, LL. D.

Secretary and Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

JAMES A. JAMES, PH. D.

Professor of History, Northwestern University

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

ISAAC J. COX, PH. D.

Professor of History, University of Cincinnati

SECRETARY-TREASURER

CLARENCE S. PAINE

Secretary of the Nebraska State Historical Society

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

In addition to above named officers

(EX-PRESIDENTS)

FRANCIS A. SAMPSON, LL. B.

Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri

THOMAS M. OWEN, A. M., LL. D.

Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Alabama

CLARENCE W. ALVORD, PH. D.

Associate Professor of History, University of Illinois

ORIN G. LIBBY, Ph. D.

Secretary of the State Historical Society of North Dakota

# 12 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH, A. M., Ph. D. Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B. Professor of History, University of Chicago

(ELECTED)

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT, Ph. D. Professor of History, Vanderbilt University

CLARENCE M. BURTON, A. M., LL. B.

President of Michigan Pioneer and Historical Association

GEORGE E. VINCENT, Ph. D. President of University of Minnesota

JAMES A. WOODBURN, Ph. D. Professor of American History, Indiana University

CLARENCE E. CARTER, Ph. D. Professor of History, Miami University

IDRESS HEAD
Librarian, Missouri Historical Society

# EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE TEACHERS' SECTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR 1912-1913

CHAIRMAN

ALBERT H. SANFORD, A. M.

Professor of History, State Normal School, La Crosse, Wisconsin

SECRETARY

HOWARD C. HILL, A. M.

Professor of History, State Normal School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

MEMBERS

JOSEPHINE M. COX, A. M.

Teacher of History, Shortridge High School, Indianapolis, Indiana

ALICE E. WADSWORTH, B. L.

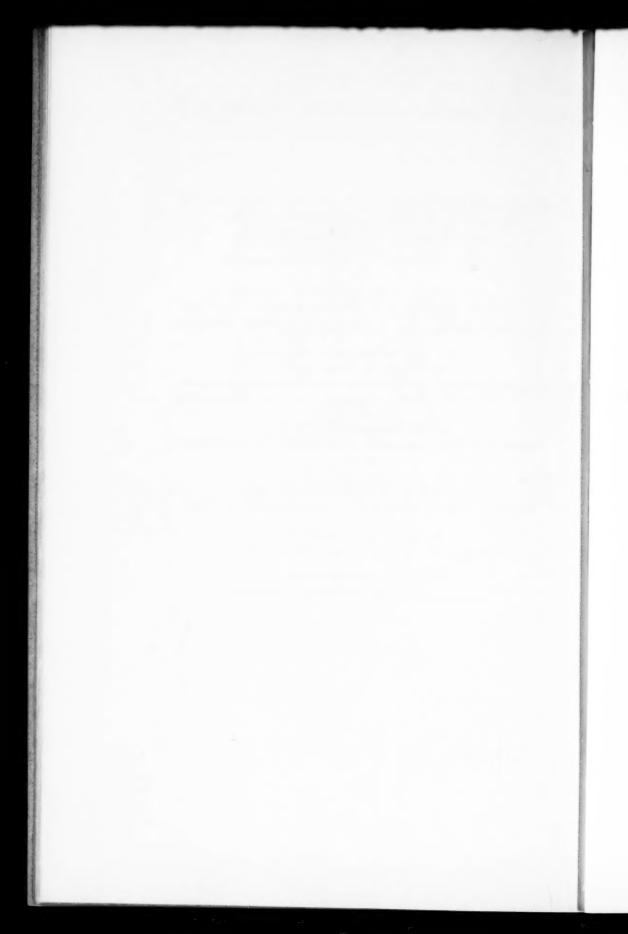
Teacher of History, Evanston High School, Evanston, Illinois

KARL F. GEISER, PH. D.

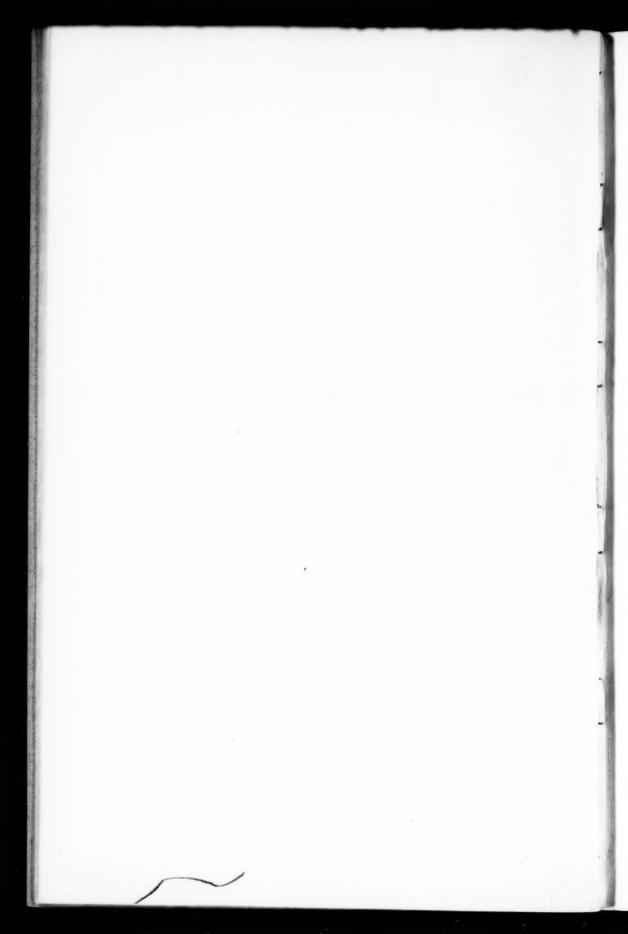
Professor of Political Science, Oberlin College

DANA C. MUNRO, A. M.

Professor of History, University of Wisconsin



THE MEETINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1912-1913



# THE MEETINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1912-1913

# DECEMBER MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION (Boston, Massachusetts, December 30, 1912)

# REGULAR SESSION

The regular mid-year meeting of the Mississippi Vallev Historical Association was held at Boston, Massachusetts, on December 30, 1913, in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. The program was arranged by a committee, of which Mr. A. C. McLaughlin was chairman. The session was presided over by Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, President of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The general topic selected for consideration at this meeting was "New England and the West", and the following papers were presented: Sidelights on the Scioto Company — The Early Movement of New England into the West by Mr. Archer B. Hulbert of Marietta, Ohio; The New England Element in Illinois Politics Before 1833 by Mr. Solon J. Buck of Urbana, Illinois; New England and the Western Reserve by Mr. Karl F. Geiser of Oberlin, Ohio; and The Mayflower Compact and its Descendants by Mrs. Lois Kimball Mathews of Madison, Wisconsin.

# SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION (Omaha, Nebraska, May 8, 9, and 10, 1913)

The sixth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Omaha, Nebraska, on May 8, 9, and 10, 1913; and in connection with it there was held the regular annual meeting of the Nebraska History Teachers' Association and a special meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society. The program for the meeting was arranged by a committee consisting of Mr. Frederic L. Paxson, Mr. Albert H. Sanford, and Mr. Clarence E. Carter. The local arrangements were in the hands of a committee composed of the members residing in Omaha with Mr. John Lee Webster as chairman. The sessions were all held in the lecture room of the Omaha High School Building.

### FIRST SESSION

The first session of the sixth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was a joint meeting with the Nebraska State Historical Society, held on Thursday, May 8th, at 2:00 o'clock, P. M., with Mr. John Lee Webster, President of the Nebraska State Historical Society, presiding. The following papers were presented at this session: Economic Factors in the Acquisition of Louisiana by Mr. Louis Pelzer of Iowa City, Iowa: Lost Landmarks by Mr. Henry W. Yates of Omaha, Nebraska: The Economic Basis of the Greenback Movement in Iowa and Wisconsin by Mr. Clyde O. Ruggles of Winona, Minnesota; Asa Whitney: Father of Pacific Railroads by Mr. Nelson H. Loomis of Omaha, Nebraska; and A Forgotten Phase of the New England Opposition to the War of 1812 by Mr. Frank Maloy Anderson. Owing to the unavoidable absence of Mr. Loomis, his paper was read by Mr. Edson Rich.

With the conclusion of the program the Secretary announced the following committee appointments by the President: on Resolutions, Mr. James A. James, Mr. Albert H. Sanford, and Mr. William J. Trimble; on Nominations, Mr. Orin G. Libby, Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, and Mr. Clarence W. Alvord; on Audit, Mr. Arthur C. Cole, Mr. Frank M. Anderson, and Mr. Eugene M. Violette.

#### SECOND SESSION

The second session was held on Thursday, May 8th, at 8:00 o'clock, P. M., with Mr. John Lee Webster presiding. After an address by Mr. Webster, the evening program was concluded with the President's address by Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, whose subject was At the Meeting of the Trails: the Romance of a Parish Register. At the close of the session a reception was tendered to the visiting members at Hillside, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Yates.

# THIRD SESSION

The third session was devoted to the regular annual business meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. This session was held on Friday, May 9th, at 9:30 o'clock, A. M., and was opened with the Report of the Secretary-Treasurer, which was accepted and placed on file.

The report of the Committee on Historic Sites was presented by the Chairman, Mr. Orin G. Libby, as follows:

Your Committee have to report on two separate matters, each of some considerable importance:

First. As to the proposed monument to La Salle at or near the mouth of the Mississippi River, it is not necessary at this time to urge upon the members of this Association the propriety of such a memorial. The importance of La Salle's work and the far reaching nature of the results that flowed from his achievements are sufficiently known to all who have interested themselves in our history.

The ways and means to accomplish the work involved in the erection of such a memorial present a problem by no means simple. The recommendations of your Committee are as follows:

1. That a La Salle Memorial Association be organized and incorporated under the laws of Louisiana with the usual officers, constitution and by-laws. The membership of this organization should consist largely of residents of Louisiana, and especially of New Orleans. Such an organization can care for all financial

and business transactions connected with the project. A committee of seven appointed by the President shall have charge of organizing such an Association. At least three of the members of this committee shall be residents of Louisiana.

- 2. That a petition be presented by the La Salle Memorial Association to Congress asking for a small appropriation to be expended in securing plans and specifications for the proposed monument.
- 3. That the President appoint an advisory committee to act with the La Salle Memorial Association in furthering the project. Such committee shall contain representatives from each State in the Mississippi Valley as well as one each from the cities of New Orleans, Chicago, St. Louis, and other leading cities prominently connected with French exploration in the Mississippi Valley.

Second. Your Committee desires to make the following recommendations with reference to the future work of this Committee:

- 1. That the Committee on Historic Sites be continued as a permanent committee of the Association.
- 2. That the Committee make an annual report, giving a resume of what is being done to preserve and mark historic sites.
- 3. That the Committee recommend from time to time the erection of such memorials as may seem fitting and appropriate.
- 4. That the Committee extend such aid as is possible in the erection of memorials in the various parts of the Mississippi Valley and in securing the attendance and participation of our members in all exercises connected with the dedication of such memorials.
- 5. That the Committee secure a list of historic sites, of which pictures, photographs, or lantern slides are available, and by coöperation with other committees secure as wide use as possible of this material in the public schools.

On motion the report of the Committee on Historic Sites was adopted.

Mr. Clarence W. Alvord then presented the report of the special Committee to investigate and report upon the advisability of publishing a Quarterly Historical Review, as follows: At the fifth annual meeting of this Association, a Committee, composed of Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, and Mr. James A. James, was appointed to investigate the feasibility of starting a Quarterly Review under the auspices of the Association, provided the sum of fifteen hundred dollars annually could be guaranteed for its support. The Committee was instructed to report to the Executive Committee at the December meeting on the possibility of obtaining a sufficient number of scientific papers to warrant launching such an enterprise. In accordance with our instructions, we herewith present our report.

In answer to a circular letter sent out by us requesting (1) opinions as to the feasibility of the Association's undertaking such an enterprise, (2) the promise of articles within two years, and (3) the promise to write reviews of books, we have received forty-six replies from historians, generally of recognized standing.

The great majority of these have answered that there is a demand for such a quarterly and have promised their cordial cooperation. These answers have been tabulated with the result that (1) almost without exception the members are in favor of launching the quarterly, (2) only four members express doubt as to the enterprise, and (3) but two members are decidedly unfavorable to the project. Reviews have been promised liberally by the members of the Association, and a sufficient number of articles have been guaranteed to run the quarterly for a period of nearly two years.

This report was discussed at some length by Mr. Alvord, Mr. Shambaugh, Mr. Hulbert, Mr. Caldwell, and Mr. Anderson. On motion it was decided that the Association should undertake the publication of a Quarterly Historical Review.

On motion of Mr. Alvord, the Executive Committee was instructed to plan for issuing two numbers of the Quarterly, without financial aid from the Association, and to take up the whole proposition again at the next annual meeting.

The resignation of Mrs. Idress Head Alvord, as a

member of the Executive Committee, was then presented and accepted.

The report of the Auditing Committee was presented as follows by the Chairman, Mr. Arthur C. Cole:

Your Auditing Committee has examined the books and accounts of Mr. Clarence S. Paine, Secretary-Treasurer of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and begs leave to report that they have been found correct and kept in admirable condition.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted and the Committee discharged.

The report of the Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History was deferred until the next session.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was then submitted. The following officers were recommended for election for the ensuing year: for President, Mr. James A. James; for First Vice President, Mr. George E. Vincent; for Second Vice President, Mr. Isaac J. Cox; for Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Clarence S. Paine; for members of the Executive Committee for a term of three years, Mr. John B. White and Mr. Frederic L. Paxson; for member of the Executive Committee for a term of two years, Mr. William Beer; and for member of the Executive Committee for a term of one year, Mr. C. H. Van Tyne.

On motion the report was adopted, the rules were suspended, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the members present for the election of the nominees. The ballot being cast, the President declared the foregoing officers and members of the Executive Committee elected for the terms named.

The President then announced the appointment of the following Committee on Nominations for the Teachers' Section by Mr. Albert H. Sanford, the Chairman of the Section: Mr. Edward C. Page, Mr. Henry N. Sherwood, and Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh. The session was concluded with a paper on *The New Madrid and Other Earthquakes in Missouri*, presented by Mr. Francis A. Sampson of Columbia, Missouri.

### FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was held on Friday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock. The session was opened with a paper by Mr. James A. James of Evanston, Illinois, on Significant Events During the Last Years of the Revolution in the West. Mr. James was followed by Mr. Arthur Charles Cole of Urbana, Illinois, who read a paper dealing with Nativism in the Lower Mississippi Valley. The next number on the program was a paper by Mr. William J. Trimble of Agricultural College, North Dakota, on The Indian Policy of the Colony of British Columbia in Comparison with that of Adjacent American Territories. This was followed by a paper on The Black Code in Missouri by Mr. Eugene M. Violette. Mr. Melvin R. Gilmore concluded the program at this session with his paper on The Aboriginal Geography of the Nebraska Country.

At the close of the regular program the following report of the Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History was presented by Mr. Frank M. Anderson, owing to the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Frederic L. Paxson:

# INVESTIGATIONS OF THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

It is now more than fifteen years since the American Historical Association, aroused by the disorder and aimlessness everywhere prevailing in the teaching of history in American schools, created a Committee of Seven to study that disorder and to try to find a way out of it. This Committee, in the course of its work, made a serious survey of historical instruction in the United States. Its report, recommending a standard four-year course for high schools, with unit courses in ancient, medieval and modern, English, and American history, was made public in 1898, and embodied so logical an improvement upon existing practice that the high schools acted upon it throughout the country. Since

1898 the historical curriculum has been standardized. Most of the leading educational publishers have brought out sets of textbooks to meet the needs of the four units, and the New England History Teachers' Association has prepared an elaborate syllabus of the four periods with abundant outlines, directions, and references.

After a few years of general use the scheme of the Committee of Seven revealed weaknesses in two directions. The experience of teachers, now directed to a sober study of historical teaching, led to a feeling that the units needed revision as to scope and content. The ancient history unit proved specially vexatious in use, and the relation of American history to civics aroused diverging opinions. To meet these criticisms, and to bring its recommendations into harmony with the needs of a usage now happily improving, the American Historical Association created a new Committee of Five in 1907, and listened to its report in 1910.

The details of this report are easily accessible. Modifications in the units and in methods of treatment were suggested, and a new need created by the progress of a decade was pointed out. "The schools are taking history more seriously than they did ten years ago", declared the Committee. An agreement had been reached upon subjects to be taught but the Committee believed all questions of curriculum to be insignificant in comparison with the necessity for suitable teachers. "The schools have a right to demand teachers that are prepared to teach history and have the ability and the spirit to teach it right", says the report. "Public schools, supported by taxation, that are content with the old idea that anybody can teach history, that anybody can trace the line of life through the past and give his pupils the spark of interest and the fire of useful knowledge, have, in our opinion a distorted conception of their responsibility." And this new problem of the teacher, ignored in 1898, when history teaching was an accident and not a profession, so impressed the American Historical Association that in 1911 it organized a new committee to consider the training of teachers.

In the spring of 1911 the various sectional associations, in touch with large bodies of actual teachers, volunteered to aid the American Historical Association in this work. Private initiative

had already seen the opportunity and the need, and Mr. A. E. McKinley had inaugurated, at his own expense, the *History Teachers' Magazine* in 1909. Here was an additional volunteer for the campaign. So ably was the *Magazine* conducted that the American Historical Association adopted it as its official organ in 1911; and at all times the *Magazine* has been at the service of the various committees, including that of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

This Association appointed a Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History at its Evanston meeting in 1911. As organized by President A. C. McLaughlin, it was representative of the Mississippi Valley, including Mr. Frank M. Anderson of the University of Minnesota, Mr. Eugene C. Barker of the University of Texas, Mr. Earl W. Dow of the University of Michigan, Mr. Evarts B. Greene of the University of Illinois, Mr. Guernsey Jones of the University of Nebraska, Mr. Laurence M. Larson of the University of Illinois, Mr. Orin G. Libby of the University of North Dakota, Mr. John H. Reynolds of the University of Arkansas, Mr. Franklin L. Riley of the University of Mississippi, Mr. St. George L. Sioussat of Vanderbilt University, Mr. John W. Townsend of Lexington, Kentucky, Mr. Jonas Viles of the University of Missouri, Mr. William C. Wilcox of the University of Iowa, Mr. James Field Willard of the University of Colorado, Mr. James A. Woodburn of the University of Indiana, and Mr. Frederic L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin, the last named acting as chairman.

For two years this Committee has carried on an extensive correspondence within its membership and with school men of all grades. It has not been possible to hold a meeting of the whole Committee, but all of the members have shown a real recognition of the seriousness of the problem with which it was charged. The Committee is unanimous in believing that the report, which is herewith submitted, offers a workable solution of the problem of training high school teachers of history. With educational institutions and practices as divergent as they now are, this is as much as the Committee can hope for in 1913.

THE COLLEGIATE TRAINING OF THE HISTORY TEACHER

From the beginning it was clear to the Committee that there are three classes of teachers now at work in the high schools.

These are (1) those who have completed a four-year college course, (2) those who have had less than a four-year course, and (3) those who have spent a period of post-graduate study in advance historical work. After a consideration of these three classes, the Committee decided to confine its attention to the class first mentioned, feeling that the Mississippi Valley Historical Association ought not to countenance the appointment in high schools of persons who have not completed a standard college course, and believing that the time has not yet come for the requirement of graduate work as a preliminary. The Committee hopes that another committee may be appointed to investigate the position of the normal schools and the need for graduate preparation.

The Committee had not gone far in its deliberations before it realized that the training of college students in preparation to become high school teachers of history involves matters not only of history and pedagogy, but also of collegiate organization. The range of practice in respectable American colleges extends from that of the small college, conducted by one-man departments, with a rigid required course, through all variations of group electives, departmental "majors", and special "courses", until it ends in the complete laissez faire of unmitigated free elections. A recommendation for the training of any single class of teachers can not reach the problems of that single class until it has faced the more general question of the training of all classes. It can not touch this until it has inquired into the organization of the American college of liberal arts.

Without going into all the details of the preliminary clearing of the ground, the Committee can state briefly the considerations which it has accepted as fundamental in the training of teachers.

- (1) Such training ought to be directed by a college of liberal arts, and it should be kept before the student, all the time, that mastery of his subject is the prime necessity for the teacher.
- (2) The specific training ought to be concentrated in the later years of the course, with no freshman or sophomore prerequisites but those which may be justified on the ground of liberal education without reference to any special vocational work.
  - (3) The college of liberal arts ought to recognize freely

the fact that success is made easier of attainment for the teacher if, in addition to his subject matter, he has mastered sympathetically a considerable amount of work in psychology, history and theory of education, and school administration; and that a suitable requirement in these subjects ought to be made for all candidates who wish to teach.

# THE HISTORY REQUIREMENT IN THE COLLEGE COURSE

Accepting those considerations as making up an ideal not far beyond the capacity of even the smallest college, the Committee proceeded to examine into the distribution of time in the four years which, for the teacher, are devoted to education and to vocation.

It may be expected that the graduate will have completed studies stretching over four years and aggregating about 120 points (counting a point as equivalent to one hour a week for half a college year). Nearly every graduate can show some of these points in history. If he intends to teach history in the high school he should specialize enough to understand the scope of his subject, to know something of its methods and materials, and to be able to read independently and intelligently along the lines of his teaching. He can not reach this condition in fewer than twenty or thirty points; he may spend, in special cases, as many as forty points in this field without destroying that balance and distribution of interest that should be involved in any bachelor's degree in arts or letters. History may reasonably claim from 25 to 40 points out of the 120, and no undergraduate study can justify a demand for more than this.

In addition to the 25-40 points given over to history, the prospective teacher should remember that history is one of a group of related subjects and that much light is thrown upon historical study by political economy, political science, and sociology. His general course ought to bring him into some understanding of these sister fields, although the Committee is unwilling to prescribe a precise number of points to be taken therein.

The requirements in psychology and pedagogy are commonly fixed by university regulation or State law, and apply for all teachers. After meeting these, and the 25-40 points in history, and a reasonable amount in related fields, the candidate will still

have enough left of his 120 points to enable him to procure a liberal education.

### THE HISTORY COURSES

The points allotted to historical subjects must be distributed among courses of various types so arranged as to give the proper training to the average student. The Committee is unable to dogmatize at this point, but suggests certain varieties of work that ought not to be disregarded. There will necessarily be (a) one or more introductory courses, (b) advanced courses, devoted to limited fields, (c) a teachers' course, and there may be (d) some sort of introductory seminary course.

(a) The Elementary Courses. The Committee believes that a course arranged for prospective teachers ought not to interfere with the cultural work to be desired in the freshman and sophomore years, and that most students in these years ought to be dissuaded from taking any but the general introductory courses in history. It is proper for them, like other freshmen, to begin their history with a survey of some European field, ancient, medieval, modern, or English. The Committee approves of the general practice, which it finds, of not giving a course in American history to freshmen. Such a course has a right to appear in the last year of the high school, and ought not to be repeated, with the same students, the next year in college.

A general course in American history ought to be taken by every prospective history teacher. At present this course often appears in the sophomore year, when it is available for all students, whether professionally inclined or not. With its completion the prospective teacher will generally have spent some 12 points on elementary history and may consider whether it is wiser to pursue further study in survey courses or to work for the more intimate understanding gained in advanced courses.

The Committee includes some who believe that, since the teacher will generally be obliged to instruct in all of the four high school units, he ought to cover the ground of each of these units in a college course. Such opinion has the approval of many active school men. But a majority of the Committee believes that the teacher ought not to sacrifice his advanced work for the sake of elementary courses. Four survey courses given in college will involve some 24 points out of a total of 25-40 points

devoted to history. They will leave too few for the intimate study of limited periods by which alone a clear understanding of historical forces can be obtained. A majority believes that many students ought not to take more than two survey courses and that none ought to be urged to take more than three. Teachers can rarely hope to acquire professional expertness if they have not gone beyond the general courses. The argument in favor of covering all of these is based upon the existence of a large number of transitory teachers, who remain in the schools only three or four years, and who abandon teaching before they become proficient. The immediate necessities of this class differ, in the judgment of some of the Committee, from those of the teachers who expect to continue to teach.

(b) The Advanced Courses. The advanced courses may cover the whole field of history, in any section of which a competent scholar can find the materials to be used in the development of his college classes. It is to be expected that in the smaller colleges the instructor will select the fields of his own specialization, and that his students will be the gainers thereby. In the great universities, which can cover in detail a wider range of history, the student will be enabled to follow his inclination in specialization. He ought to specialize, to the end that by knowing one period well he may have an insight into all periods which he may later teach. It is in these advanced courses, which are generally small and which permit intimate association of instructor with student, that the Committee expects the most useful work to be done. It is for the sake of these that the recommendation is made above that not more than two survey courses be required.

Even the small college, with a single instructor in history, can meet the requirements of the survey and advanced courses without calling for more than twelve points of instruction per week. If the instructor will repeat each year one survey course in European and one in American history, involving together six points per week, he will have half his time remaining for advanced courses. By giving courses in alternate years he can cover as wide a variety of fields as his students need.

It is possible for a student to take some of his advanced courses in fields in which he has had no survey course. Much of

the instruction in the preliminary courses is applicable to all courses in history. Having had one freshman course, well assimilated, the student can take up advanced work in the same field or in any field. A survey course in Medieval Europe is a preparation for advanced courses in English history. Students without a general course in American history often do admirable work in advanced periods of United States history, if they have been well grounded in general courses in English or medieval history.

(e) The Teachers' Training Course. The course in teaching of history which has already appeared in many colleges, and which is recommended by them almost without dissent, ought to be an integral part of the candidate's preparation. As yet the course is in its infancy, but certain of its tendencies are clear. It is not to be a course in historical method but a teaching method; neither is its primary purpose to increase the student's knowledge of facts of history. Its purpose is to professionalize the prospective teacher while he is yet a student - to lead him to consider the fields that he studies as a part of his teachable stock in trade. It is designed to acquaint him with such methods of handling text-books and other materials, classes, and distribution of time, as can be learned by rule or observation. Where a practice course can be arranged, the best results can be obtained. The instructor of this course ought to have in his own experience a definite knowledge of the needs and limitations of the high school. His aim ought to be to shorten the period of adjustment which every beginner, however well-informed, must pass through before he can become an accomplished teacher. The Committee believes that enough of this is teachable to justify the existence of this course - indeed, to make it almost imperative. It believes also that the course must be given as history by a historian.

Courses in method are now known to be given at California, Michigan, Washington, Louisiana, Minnesota, North Dakota, Northwestern, Illinois, Mississippi, Nebraska, Kansas, Wisconsin, and Texas.

The Committee would be glad to see the appointment, by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, of a small committee of experts to draft a project for a course of this type, to occupy two or three points in time. Such a committee could do much to crystallize opinion not only among the prospective teachers as to what they should know but also among superintendents and school boards as to what they should demand. Many of these last, in their replies to the Committee, are frankly at sea. They want breadth and specialization, and would be only too glad to secure either. Until the historians have themselves agreed, however, the laity are likely to remain uncertain.

(d) The Pro-Seminary. Several of the members of the Committee, as well as certain of its correspondents, believe in another type of course, which lies between the advanced course and the research seminary. Such courses, called introductory seminaries, or pro-seminaries, are given for seniors, in several institutions. The ideal of the instructors of these courses is to teach method and point of view by requiring the student to conduct such an independent investigation as he may be fitted for.

The essential difficulties in the way of doing seminary work with undergraduates are those of maturity, material, and time. Generally the senior is not yet ready for researth. Such studies as may develop the critical point of view call for sources that only large libraries can provide, and the publishers have only just begun the preparation of historical "case books" with collections of sources relating to specific points. The time element, too, is always present. The legitimate demands of departments other than history are such that few undergraduate students have time for the study of historical method. Yet in many cases the proseminaries have vitalized the subject for the students. The Committee is not ready to prescribe a pro-seminary as a requisite for the teacher, but recognizes its great value to the student who is fitted for it. Advanced instruction must always be highly personal and individual, and the instructor must choose his own method. He should beware, however, lest he turn into premature investigators students whose need is to be made into broad and intelligent teachers.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations of the Committee would lead to the organization, in every college engaged in the preparation of high school teachers of history, of a course as follows: (1) elementary history, in the first two years not to require more than 12 points; (2) advanced courses, amounting to about 20 points;

(3) methods of teaching history 2-4 points; and (4) a pro-seminary which may take 2-6 points. The student who has completed such a course must know the general outlines of two or three of the standard courses that he may have to teach. His training in methods and in limited fields will have prepared him to work up on his own account the courses in which his preparation has been slight. He will know what history is, and what he is to produce in all his students, regardless of the course. He will not be more judicial or better poised than nature has made him, but he will know how to see his limitations and how to use his powers to the end in hand. He will know how to arrange his first classes and will be familiar with the outlines of many of his problems. And if his instructors have done their work with conscience and ability, he will be as well prepared for his task as the bachelor can be.

With the above statement respecting the problem and the method of approaching it, the Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History feels that it has done its work. and asks to be discharged. It realizes that its report presupposes a willingness in college faculties to reorganize their courses so far as may be necessary. It realizes also that after the teacher has been trained, the public must be educated to demand expert and judicious teachers of history. It hopes that neither of these conditions will be unattainable. It recommends to those members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, who are obliged by their positions to aid or advise students ambitious to teach history, that they urge preparatory study along these lines, and that they refrain where possible from giving testimonials to students who are not thus prepared. It recommends that the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, if it desires to continue in this work, appoint new committees to consider (1) the course in teaching of history; (2) the place of the normal schools in preparing high school teachers of history; and (3) the demand for trained teachers of history in the high schools.

On motion of Mr. Alvord the report was referred to the Executive Committee with power.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was presented by the Chairman, Mr. James A. James, as follows:

Your Committee desires, on behalf of the Mississippi Val-

ley Historical Association, to express our obligations to the Bureau of Publicity of the Commercial Club and to the Commercial Club of the City of Omaha for the numerous courtesies extended to us during our sixth annual meeting; to Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Yates and to Mr. Rome Miller for their kindly hospitality; to the authorities of the Omaha High School and the Principal, Miss Kate McHugh, for the excellent meeting place; to Mr. John L. Webster, President of the Nebraska State Historical Society, and Mrs. Ada I. Atkinson, President of the Nebraska History Teachers' Association; to the officers of the Public Library, the Lininger Art Gallery, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., for the numerous privileges accorded us during our visit to this city.

# FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was held on Friday evening, May 9th, and was devoted to a reception and banquet tendered to the visiting members of the Association by the Commercial Club of Omaha. The banquet was held in the dining room of the Commercial Club on the eighteenth floor of the Woodmen of the World Building. Mr. John Lee Webster acted as toastmaster and toasts were responded to by Mr. Frank M. Anderson, Mr. Fred Morrow Fling, Mr. J. A. Jenkins, Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, and Mr. James A. James.

### SIXTH SESSION

The sixth annual meeting was concluded on Saturday, May 10th, with a joint session of the Teachers' Section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Nebraska History Teachers' Association with Mr. Albert H. Sanford, Chairman of the History Teachers' Section, presiding.

The program was opened by a paper on A Course in Current History by Mr. E. L. Hendricks of Warrensburg, Missouri. This paper was discussed at considerable length by Mr. Edward C. Page, Mr. Fred Morrow Fling, Mr. Eugene M. Violette, Mr. Pelagius Williams, and others. On request, Mr. Page followed with a brief account

of his work of establishing a museum at the DeKalb Normal School. The paper on A Course in History for the Elementary Schools by Miss Mattie Allen of Lincoln, Nebraska, was not presented, owing to the absence of Miss Allen. The program was concluded by a paper by Mr. Forest C. Ensign of Iowa City, who presented An Inspector's Observation of High School History Teaching. This paper was discussed by Mr. Benjamin S. Asquith of Council Bluffs, Iowa.

At the conclusion of the regular program the Nominating Committee of the Teachers' Section presented the following report:

We recommend the following officers for the History Teachers' Section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the ensuing year: to fill the vacancies on the Executive Committee caused by the expiration of the terms of Miss Josephine M. Cox and Mr. Howard C. Hill, Miss Sara F. Rice of Cedar Falls, Iowa, and Mr. J. Nelson Kelly of Grand Forks, North Dakota; for Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. Dana C. Munro of Madison, Wisconsin; for Secretary of the Executive Committee, Miss Alice E. Wadsworth of Evanston, Illinois.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted and the foregoing officers were declared elected. Miss Alice E. Wadsworth declined to serve as Secretary of the Executive Committee of the History Teachers' Section, and Mr. Howard C. Hill of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was chosen to fill the vacancy. On motion the meeting was formally adjourned.

SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (High School Building, Omaha, Nebraska, May 9, 1913)

Pursuant to call, a meeting of the Executive Committee was held at Omaha, Nebraska, on May 9th. President Reuben Gold Thwaites called the Committee to order at 9:00 o'clock, A. M. There were present the following: Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Mr. Francis A. Sampson, Mr.

Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. Orin G. Libby, and Mr. Clarence S. Paine.

On motion of the Secretary, seconded by Mr. Alvord, the President was authorized to appoint a committee of three to prepare a program for the joint session with the American Historical Association to be held at Columbia, South Carolina, on December 31, 1913. In accordance with this motion the President appointed Mr. St. George L. Sioussat, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, and Mr. Orin G. Libby.

On motion of Mr. Libby, seconded by Mr. Alvord, the Secretary-Treasurer was allowed three hundred dollars for his services and two hundred dollars to pay for clerical help.

The Secretary presented invitations from the following cities, desiring to entertain the seventh annual meeting of the Association in 1914: New Orleans, San Francisco, St. Louis, Kansas City, Chicago, Des Moines, Grand Forks, Urbana, St. Paul, and Lincoln. On motion these invitations were referred to the new Executive Committee.

Mr. Libby presented the report of the Committee on Historic Sites, which was referred to the annual meeting with the recommendation that it be accepted.

Mr. Alvord reported for the Committee on Publication to the effect that copy for the first volume of Collections would be ready early next fall. He then presented the report of the special committee appointed to consider the advisability of establishing a Quarterly Historical Review. This report was referred to the annual meeting without recommendation.

On motion the Committee adjourned.

SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (High School Building, Omaha, Nebraska, May 9, 1913)

This session of the Executive Committee was held at 4:30 o'clock, P. M. on Friday, May 9th. The first busi-

ness considered was the location of the seventh annual meeting in 1914. Mrs. W. B. Thayer presented an invitation on behalf of the Kansas City Historical Society and was seconded by Mr. William E. Connelley, President of the Kansas State Historical Society. Mr. Orin G. Libby supported the invitation from Grand Forks, North Dakota. And Mr. Alvord appeared for Urbana, Illinois. After a thorough discussion of the question, a vote was taken resulting in the selection of Grand Forks.

After an informal discussion of the proposition to establish a Quarterly Historical Review, Mr. Alvord moved that the Committee proceed to select a Board of Editors to consist of nine members — three to serve for one year, three for two years, and three for three years, and three members to be elected annually thereafter for a term of three years. The motion was seconded and carried.

An informal conference followed by a vote resulted in the selection of the following Board of Editors: Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. Claude H. Van Tyne, Mr. Orin G. Libby, Mr. Archer B. Hulbert, Mr. Eugene C. Barker, Mr. James A. James, Mr. Walter L. Fleming, and Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites.

By mutual agreement it was left to the Secretary to determine the various terms of these members by lot. This resulted in the selection of Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, and Mr. Archer B. Hulbert for three years; Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. James A. James, and Mr. Walter L. Fleming for two years; and Mr. Orin G. Libby, Mr. Eugene C. Barker, and Mr. Claude H. Van Tyne for one year.

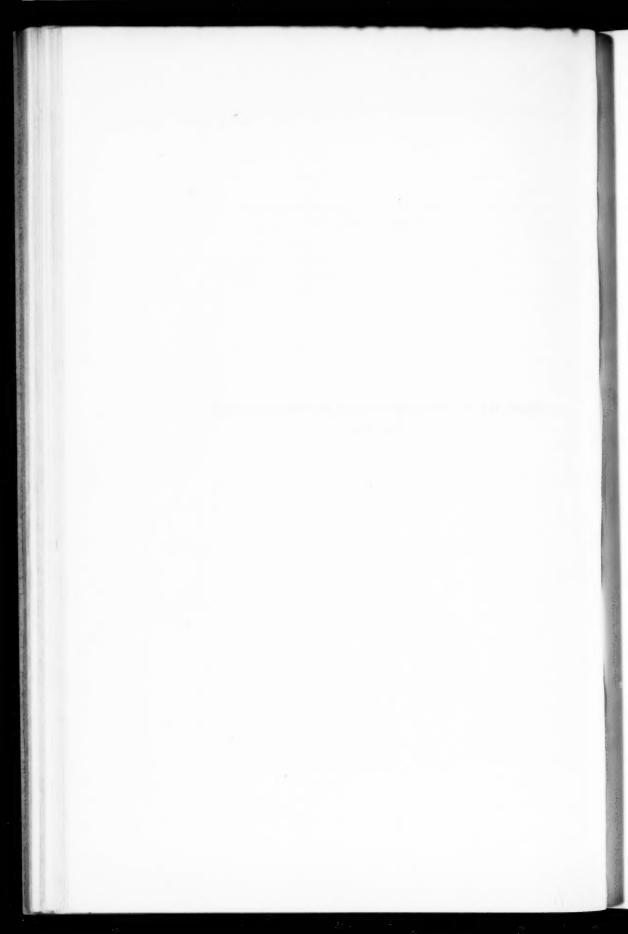
On motion of Mr. James, seconded by Mr. Libby, Mr. Clarence W. Alvord was named as Managing Editor.

Mr. Libby presented the report of the Committee on Historic Sites which was approved, and the President was authorized to name a special committee of five members to organize the La Salle Memorial Association. The report of the Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History was then considered. The recommendations of the Committee with regard to (1) a course in the teaching of history and (2) the demand for trained teachers of history in the high schools were left to the Committee for further investigation and report.

The recommendation that a special committee be appointed to consider the place of the normal schools in preparing high school teachers of history was referred to a new committee of seven members to be named by the President.



REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER (May, 1913)



# REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

(May, 1913)

We close the sixth year of the life of this Association with every reason to be satisfied with the progress that has been made. Yet larger achievements might have been possible under more favorable conditions.

The great need of this Association to-day, aside from the ever present need of money, is the active coöperation of some person with means and leisure, who can give time to enlisting the forces that may be readily called into action in the support of its work. There is no scarcity of men to do the work in this particular field, provided they can be remunerated. Nor is there lack of men, having financial resources and the necessary interest in the work, to coöperate with the Association if it is brought to their attention.

If we could have the active assistance of one or two good men in each State the results would be far-reaching. As an instance of what could be accomplished it is only necessary to call attention to the fact that during the past year sixty-seven new members have been enrolled from the State of North Dakota almost wholly through the efforts of Mr. O. G. Libby. This State furnishes more than one-third of the entire increase for the year.

The efforts of the Secretary have of necessity, been very largely devoted to the work of publicity and promotion, but the limited time at his disposal has not been sufficient to awaken that interest which is necessary to the accomplishment of larger things.

The last annual meeting, the *Proceedings* of which have been published in Volume V, was all that could have been desired or expected, except in the matter of attend-

Several important subjects were considered in the business session among others a recommendation of the Committee on Publication submitting a plan for the publication of a Quarterly Historical Review. After some discussion this proposition was referred to a special committee, with instructions to report at the Boston meeting in December. Mr. McLaughlin, the retiring President. appointed Mr. Clarence W. Alvord, Mr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, and Mr. James A. James as members of this Committee. The Secretary has not been advised of any definite action but it is presumed that the Committee is prepared to report at this meeting, and that some plan will be developed now for the publication of a Quarterly Historical Review, or that the whole scheme will be dropped while we turn our attention to matters upon which we can agree.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee held in Bloomington the retiring President was authorized to name two members of a committee to act with himself in preparing a program for the joint session with the American Historical Association to be held at Boston in December. This joint session was held on Monday, December 30, 1912, and the general topic for consideration was "New England and the West".

The Chairman of the Program Committee of the American Historical Association, who is also a member of our Executive Committee, urges that we take immediate steps to provide a program for the joint session with the American Association to be held during the December (1913) meeting. This meeting is to open with an address by the President of the American Historical Association on Monday evening, December 29th. On Tuesday evening the general subject will be American History, with emphasis upon the South; and on Wednesday morning there is to be a conference on South America, with special reference to Mexico and Central America.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association is to be held on Wednesday evening, December 31st, in Columbia. It has been suggested that this session take for its general topic, "The Relations of the South and the West inside the United States", that is, not including Texas or Mexican affairs.

This naturally brings up the question of the continuance of these joint sessions with the American Historical Association, to which some objection has been made. This arrangement should be continued, but we ought to have a very clear understanding as to what papers presented at such joint sessions are to be published in the Proceedings of this Association. Heretofore the most important of these papers have been published in the American Historical Review, and the rest were left to this Association. This, and the fact that we have permitted papers to be presented at our regular annual meetings when such papers had been promised to other sources of publication, has had a tendency to leave some of our volumes of Proceedings a little lean. It ought to be clearly understood that any papers presented at the meetings of this Association are to be published first in the *Proceedings* of this Association, unless by some mischance they should be of such a character that we should not care to publish them at all.

Owing to the excellent work of Mr. Shambaugh and his assistants our last volume of *Proceedings* would have been issued about December 1st last year but for a slight delay in the printing office. This publication of two volumes of *Proceedings* within a year made a rather heavy draft upon the treasury, yet we are in a better condition financially than we were one year ago. Just previous to the last annual meeting we had received Volume IV of the *Proceedings* and a bill for printing the same, no part

of which had been paid, and within ten months thereafter we received the bill for the printing of Volume V.

Only three of the standing committees of this Association have so far accomplished anything to justify their existence. The first of these worthy of mention is the Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History. This Committee has from the first been exceedingly active and has won favorable commendation from many quarters upon the work accomplished.

The Committee on Publication has been very diligent in developing plans for the publication of a series of Collections and Reprints and a Quarterly Historical Review. A contract for the publication of the proposed series of Collections and Reprints has been entered into with The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. This contract relieves the Association of all financial responsibility. The proposition of the Publication Committee to publish a Quarterly Historical Review has been favorably received in many quarters and has aroused some opposition in others. That such a publication would be of great value to the cause and to this Association can not be doubted, provided it can be financed, which seems entirely probable. That contributions of articles can be secured the Committee has already determined.

The goal of 1000 members, toward which we have been working for several years, has been nearly reached, and we are able to report at this meeting a total enrollment to date of 986. We have suffered some losses by death and cancellation, but this number is really small. A decrease instead of a gain, however, may be looked for during the coming year, unless extraordinary efforts are made to secure new members, as we have been carrying upon our roll quite a number who are delinquent, whose names should and will be dropped.

We have gained during the year: four life members; nine sustaining members; forty-four library members;

one hundred and twenty-four active members; a total of one hundred and eighty-one. The most remarkable gain for the year is in North Dakota, which has an increase of sixty-seven. In point of numbers Illinois still leads all of the States with one hundred and eighty-six members; Iowa comes second with one hundred and eight; Nebraska has seventy-six; North Dakota, seventy-one; Missouri, sixty-nine; Wisconsin, forty-eight; Indiana, thirty-four; Minnesota, twenty-four; Michigan, twenty-three; Kansas, twenty-two; and New York, twenty-one.

There are two classes of members whose support is vital to the existence of this Association. The first, and perhaps the most important, is composed of men who do active work on committees, who contribute papers, and who make it their business to attend the annual and mid-year meetings. The other class is composed of that large number of business and professional men who are interested in western history, and who are willing to contribute liberally of their means to the support of such an organization as this.

That this Association is attracting widespread attention is evidenced by the rivalry among cities for the privilege of entertaining the annual meetings. We have ten invitations from cities desiring to entertain the annual meeting of the Association for 1914. It will be the duty of the Executive Committee to consider the claims of these cities, and to locate the 1914 meeting so that it will result in the largest possible good to the Association.

The first official act of President Thwaites was to appoint as a Program Committee, Mr. Frederic L. Paxson, Mr. Albert H. Sanford, and Mr. Clarence E. Carter. This Committee is responsible for the preparation of the program for this meeting.

Only three deaths among the members of the Association have been reported during the year as follows: Mr. W J McGee, Washington, D. C., September 4, 1912; Mr.

## 46 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Henry Schoelkopf, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, December 4, 1912; and Mr. Virgil A. Lewis, Charleston, West Virginia, December 5, 1912.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

D.		4 -
Re	ceip	LS

	20000pto
(	Cash receipts from membership dues,
	contributions, and sale of publica-
	tions from May 20, 1912, to May
	9, 1913, per list attached and made
	part of this report \$1687.
	2 1 115 00 1010

Balance on	hand	May	20,	1912.	٠	109.70

Miscellaneous

Total receipts							\$1797.21	
Dis	bu	irs	em	ent	ts			
Disbursements from Ma	ıy	20	, 1	912	, to	)		
May 9, 1913, per vou and made part of thi	ch	ers	at	tac				
Printing of Proceedings		-				\$	746.10	
Postage and telegrams						Ψ	201.05	
Freight and express .							118.67	
Clerical work							305.75	
Miscellaneous printing							189.25	
Office supplies							79.20	

Total disbursements			\$1718.12
Balance on hand			\$ 79.09

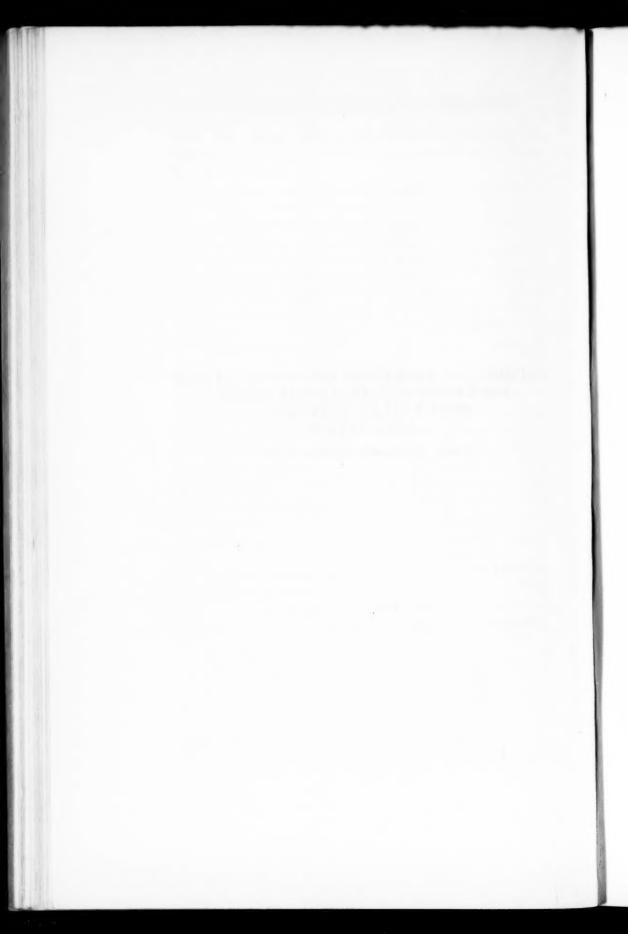
Respectfully submitted,

C. S. Paine, Secretary-Treasurer.

78.10

# PAPERS AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE DECEMBER MEETING OF THE MISSIS-SIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(Boston, Massachusetts, December 30, 1912)



# THE NEW ENGLAND ELEMENT IN ILLINOIS POLITICS BEFORE 1833

By Solon J. Buck

The Black Hawk War of 1831-1832 and the resultant treaties with the Indians mark an important transition in the history of the settlement of Illinois. Prior to that War, settlement had been confined almost entirely to the southern half of the State, but the removal of the Indians together with the rapid development of lake navigation made the fertile prairies of northern Illinois accessible, and immigration flowed in rapidly. These newcomers were largely from New England and New York, and this movement is generally looked upon as the first appearance of the New England element in Illinois in sufficient numbers to make its influence felt. It is the accepted view that the people who settled in the State before this time came almost entirely from the South and that Southern ideas and ideals predominated. Writers are fond of pointing out that "every one of the first six governors was a Southern man" and "for twenty-five years the senators and representatives of the new state were almost without exception men born south of the Ohio." The conclusion has been that there were few Northern men and especially New Englanders in the State and that what few there may have been were without political influence. It is frequently stated, moreover, that positively all the "Yankees" in the community during this early period were of the clockpeddler variety, and one writer goes so far as to assert that they were "objects of the deepest animosity to the settlers in Southern Illinois."2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mathews's Expansion of New England, p. 207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gillespie's Recollections of Early Illinois (Fergus Historical Series, No. 13), p. 6.

It would seem that six Governors, eight Senators, and eight Congressmen hardly furnish a sufficient basis for reliable generalizations as to proportion or political influence of different sectional elements in a community and for that reason a more extensive statistical study of the subject was undertaken, of which this paper is a report of progress. A list was made of office-holders in Illinois prior to the year 1833. This includes State and Federal officers, judges, presidential electors, members of the Constitutional Convention of 1818, members of the State and Territorial legislatures, and the Illinois members of the legislatures of the Northwest and Indiana Territories. The list contains three hundred and forty names, no name being counted twice, and of these men the birth-places of one hundred and sixty-one, or about forty-seven per cent. have been located.3 Thirty-six of these were born in Kentucky; twenty-four in Virginia; fifteen in Pennsylvania; fourteen in New York; nine each in Tennessee and Maryland; seven in Ohio; six in North Carolina; five each in Connecticut and Ireland; four each in Vermont and Delaware; three each in Massachusetts, Georgia, South Carolina, and Canada; two each in Maine, New Jersey, and Scotland; and one each in Michigan, Illinois, England, Wales, and Sweden. Grouping them, we have ninety, or fifty-six per cent, from the South; fifty-eight, or thirty-six per cent, from the North; and thirteen, or eight per cent, from foreign countries. Classifying the North-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The data was secured largely from county histories and from such works as Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia of Illinois (Chicago, 1900); Encyclopedia of Biography of Illinois (Chicago, 1892-1894, 2 vols.); The United States Biographical Dictionary—Illinois Volume (Chicago & New York, 1883); Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of the Representative Men of the United States—Illinois Volume (Chicago, 1896); The Bench and Bar of Illinois (Chicago, 1899, 2 vols.).

The unreliability of this class of works, for specific facts, is recognized and the data has been checked up from other sources whenever possible. It is not believed that the percentage of error is great enough to materially affect the generalizations.

ern element, we have thirty-five, or twenty-two per cent, from the Middle States; fourteen, or nine per cent, from New England; and nine, or five per cent, from the West.

No startling discrepancy from the accepted view of the situation is here evident, but fifty-six per cent from the South is less than a reader of the usual accounts would expect to find, while nine per cent is a very respectable representation from far-away New England. Of the four-teen from New York, moreover, five or six at least were of New England parentage and might fairly be included in any consideration of the New England element. If it can be assumed, then, that approximately the same proportions would hold good for those whose birth-places have not been located, it would be a safe conclusion that about twelve per cent of the office-holders in Illinois before 1833 belonged to the New England element.

In order to determine the relative extent of the participation of this element in politics in different parts of the period under consideration, various groupings of the names in the general list were made. The first of these includes all who held office from 1799, when the legislature of the Northwest Territory was organized, to the end of the Territorial period in 1818. The nativity of thirty-seven in this list is known, and of these, two, or about five per cent, were born in New England. The nativity of twenty of the thirty-two members of the Constitutional Convention of 1818 is known and although but one of these is a New Englander he represents five per cent of the total. Taking up next the first eight General Assemblies of the State, each covering a two years' period, the numbers of New Englanders in them, so far as ascertained, are two, four, five, four, two, two, two, and three, respectively, representing from seven per cent, of those of known nativity, in the fifth and sixth, to twenty per cent in the third General Assembly. The average for the whole eight is about eleven per cent or somewhat more than the proportion arrived at from the general list of office-holders. The explanation of this seems to be that the individual New Englanders generally served longer terms than did the average member of the legislature. Thus two of them served in five and another in three of the eight General Assemblies. That the participation of New Englanders in politics was greater after the admission of the State than during the Territorial period is evident, but it appears also to have been greater during the first eight years of statehood than during the succeeding eight years. This may possibly be due to the prominence of the question of slavery in Illinois politics from 1818 to 1824.

The struggle over the proposition to make Illinois a slave State is the most significant political issue of the period under consideration and furnishes an opportunity to test the quality of the part played by the New England The Constitution of 1818 forbade the further introduction of slavery into the State, and the only way this could be changed was by calling a convention. To do this it was necessary for the legislature to adopt by a two-thirds vote a resolution submitting the question of a convention to the people. The requisite two-thirds was obtained in the third General Assembly in 1823, but without a vote to spare in either house and by methods which are rarely equaled in political rascality even in legislatures of the present day. There were five New Englanders in this General Assembly, two in the Senate, and three in the House. One of the Representatives was the leader of the anti-convention forces and the vote of every one of the five was cast with the minority and against the resolu-The adoption of this resolution was followed by one of the hardest fought campaigns in the history of Illinois politics. For eighteen months the battle raged until in the August election of 1824 the people decided against the proposed convention. The anti-convention

forces were led by Governor Edward Coles and Congressman Daniel Pope Cook, both Southerners by birth, and many of their ablest supporters were also men of Southern origin. In emphasizing this fact, however, it should also be kept in mind that, with a single exception, every New England man in public life at the time was an outspoken opponent of the movement; and few of the anticonvention leaders did more valiant service for the cause than that performed by four New Englanders: Colonel Thomas Mather of Kaskaskia, the leader of the opposition in the legislature; George Churchill of Madison County, one of his lieutenants; Hooper Warren, the editor of the Edwardsville Spectator; and John Mason Peck, the well-known Baptist missionary preacher.

Apart from this struggle over the convention issue, Illinois politics was largely a matter of factions during this period, and the New Englanders seem to have aligned themselves generally with the faction led by Senator Edwards and his son-in-law, Congressman Cook, as distinguished from that led by Senator Jesse B. Thomas and Elias Kent Kane. In national politics Edwards was a follower of Calhoun and Thomas of Crawford, but it must be remembered that at this time Calhoun was a nationalist and looked with favor on the tariff and internal improvements. With the shifting of the national factions into the Democratic and National-Republican parties, a corresponding shifting took place in Illinois but there the avowed opponents of Jackson were so very few that the Democrats split into two camps on the basis of the intensity of their loyalty to Jackson. The greater part of the prominent New Englanders took their stand either as Adams and Clay men or, with Governor Ed-

<sup>4</sup> Brown's Historical Sketch of the Early Movement in Illinois for the Legalization of Slavery (Fergus Historical Series, No. 4); Harris's History of Negro Servitude in Illinois; Washburne's Sketch of Edward Coles.

wards, in the more moderate or "milk and cider" Jackson camp. Many of them, but not all, later became Whigs.

To further illustrate the nature of the part played by the New England element in Illinois politics, it will perhaps be worth while to sketch briefly the careers of a few of the leaders. The first New Englanders to enter the field of politics in Illinois, and perhaps the first to settle in the State, were John Messenger and Dr. George Cadwell. Messenger was born in Massachusetts in 1771. and Cadwell in Connecticut, in 1773. Each married a daughter of Matthew Lyon, the eccentric Congressman from Vermont, and in 1799 they accompanied him to his new home in Kentucky. Three years later, in 1802, the two brothers-in-law moved on to Illinois, locating first in the American bottom opposite St. Louis. From 1804 to 1806 Messenger taught one of the earliest schools in the State and then took up the work of surveying the United States lands as a sub-contractor under William Rector, the surveyor-general. In 1808 he made his first appearance in politics as a Delegate from St. Clair County to the legislature of Indiana Territory, where he took an active part in the movement to have Illinois set off as a separate Territory. He served again in the Constitutional Convention of 1818, was one of the Representatives from St. Clair County in the first General Assembly of the State. and was elected Speaker of the House. In 1821 he published a surveyor's manual; in 1823 he was appointed by Governor Coles one of the Commission to select the seminary lands for the State; in 1833 he assisted in determining the northern boundary of the State; and for a number of years he served as Professor of Mathematics in Rock Spring Seminary. He died in 1846.6 Dr. Cadwell, be-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Thompson's History of the Whig Party in Illinois (to be published in University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences).

<sup>6</sup> History of St. Clair County (1881), pp. 52, 72, 79; Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV, p. 47; Bateman and Selby's Historical Encyclopedia, pp. 72, 148, 371.

sides practicing his profession, served in a number of local offices in St. Clair and Madison counties, and represented Madison County in the Senate of the first and second General Assemblies. He was the Senator from Greene and Pike counties in the third General Assembly and opposed the convention resolution.

The half decade following the close of the War of 1812 was a period of extensive emigration from New England. Ohio was undoubtedly the destination of the greater number of these emigrants but, as good land at government prices began to get scarce there, many felt their "Ohio fever" turning to a "Missouri and Illinois fever" as one of the victims of the disease expressed it; \* and as a result southern Illinois received a considerable number of settlers belonging to the New England element during these years. Among these new settlers were the founders of the second and third newspapers established in the State, Henry Eddy and Hooper Warren. Eddy was born of Puritan stock in Vermont in 1798 but spent his youth in western New York and in Pittsburg, where he learned the printer's trade and studied law. In 1818 he loaded a press on a flat-boat, floated down the Ohio to Shawneetown, and there established the Illinois Emigrant later known as the *Illinois Gazette*. Leaving the editing of the paper largely to his partners and employees he devoted himself to the law, and soon had the reputation of being the ablest lawyer in that part of the State. Two years after his arrival he was elected to represent Gallatin County in the lower house of the second General Assembly, and in 1824 he was one of the three presidential electors for Illinois. His ballot was cast for Jackson in that election, but he opposed his reëlection in 1828, and in later

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Reynolds's Pioneer History of Illinois, pp. 328-330; Washburne's Sketch of Edward Coles, pp. 113-115; Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, p. 72. The name is spelled either "Cadwell" or "Caldwell".

Sershom Flagg in Illinois State Historical Society Transactions, 1910, p. 155.

life he was an ardent Whig. In local politics Eddy was a close friend of Governor Edwards and Congressman Cook. His attitude on the convention question, so far as it can be determined from the files of his paper and the testimony of contemporaries, was a colorless one with a leaning toward the convention side. The columns of his paper were open, however, to communications on both sides of the question and in it were published Morris Birkbeck's Letters of Jonathan Freeman which are said to have influenced many to vote against the convention. Eddy held the position of circuit judge for a short time in 1835, and again represented Gallatin County in the lower house of the fifteenth General Assembly, 1846-1848. He died in 1849.9

Hooper Warren was born in New Hampshire in 1790. He learned the printer's trade in Vermont, moved to Delaware in 1814, to Kentucky in 1817, to St. Louis in 1818, and in 1819 he established the third paper in Illinois, the Edwardsville Spectator. Warren, unlike Eddy, was from the first an out-and-out anti-slavery man, and his paper early sounded a warning against the schemes of the conventionists. He opposed Coles in his campaign for Governor in 1822 for personal reasons, but in the struggle which followed the Spectator was one of the most effective forces in carrying the State against the calling of the convention. Warren never appears to have been a candidate for office himself but he was a close friend, and doubtless a political supporter, of Governor Edwards.

Reynolds's My Own Times, pp. 242, 292, 316; Washburne's Sketch of Edward Coles, p. 188; Washburne's Edwards Papers, p. 252; Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV, pp. 113, 227; Vol. VI, pp. xli-xlix, 314; Bench and Bar of Illinois, Vol. II, pp. 853, 1211; Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, pp. 146, 396.

Charles Carroll of Shawneetown, a grandson of Henry Eddy, possesses a large collection of Eddy manuscripts. Transcripts of about a thousand of these are in the State Historical Library and the Library of the University of Illinois. They include letters from nearly all the prominent men of the State from 1820 to 1848 and copies of many letters written by Eddy.

He was the founder of the first paper established in Springfield, the second in Galena, and the third in Chicago, and during the forties and fifties he was associated with Zebina Eastman in the publication of his anti-slavery papers at Lowell and Chicago. For his newspaper services in the anti-slavery cause, Warren should be ranked with Eastman, Lundy, and Garrison.<sup>10</sup>

Another New England printer who came to Illinois at about the same time was George Churchill. Born in Vermont in 1789, he learned his trade on the Albany Sentinel, worked for short periods on papers in New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Louisville, and finally arrived in St. Louis in 1817. There he was employed as a journey-man printer on the Missouri Gazette during the controversy over the admission of Missouri to the Union, and in 1819 he wrote and inserted in the paper over the signature of "A Farmer of St. Charles County" an article favoring the admission of the State without slavery. The article attracted considerable attention and elicited replies from some of the most prominent advocates of slavery in Missouri. About this time Churchill located on a farm in Madison County, and during the campaign of 1823-1824 he contributed many anti-convention articles to the Edwardsville Spectator. Elected to the House of Representatives of the third General Assembly, he held the position through five consecutive legislatures and was again elected to the eleventh, twelfth, and fourteenth General Assemblies, making a record of sixteen years of service. His later years were spent on his farm, where he died in 1876.11

Among the newcomers to Kaskaskia during the first

Washburne's Edwards Papers, p. 329; Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI, consult index; Stevens in Illinois State Historical Society Journal, Vol. IV, no. 3, pp. 271-287 (October, 1911); Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, pp. 396, 577.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Reynolds's My Own Times, pp. 242, 275; Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, pp. 105, 397, 577.

two years of statehood were two natives of Connecticut. Colonel Thomas Mather and David J. Baker. Colonel Mather was born in 1795, engaged in business in New York City for a short time, and in 1818 established himself as a merchant in Kaskaskia. After a year or two, James L. Lamb was taken in as a partner, and the firm of Mather and Lamb became one of the largest mercantile concerns in that part of the State. Branch houses were established in various places in Randolph and Washington counties and an extensive shipping trade was carried on with New Orleans. Randolph County sent Mather to the House of Representatives of the second General Assembly, and also of the third, fourth, and sixth, covering the years from 1820 to 1826 and 1828 to 1830. After his services as floor-leader of the anti-convention forces in the third General Assembly, it is rather surprising that his County, which voted in favor of the convention, should at the same election return him to the fourth General Assembly. Still more surprising is the fact that he was elected Speaker of the House in the same legislature which sent John McLean and Elias Kent Kane, two of the most prominent pro-slavery leaders, to the United States Senate. Governor Coles appointed Mather a Colonel on his staff and in 1830 he was the candidate of the "milk and cider" Jackson faction for the United States Senate, but was defeated by John M. Robinson, the "whole-hog" candidate. He was elected to the State Senate in 1832, serving during the eighth and ninth General Assemblies, and then removed to Springfield. He served as one of the fund commissioners in connection with the internal improvement scheme of 1837, was President of the Springfield branch of the State Bank, was connected with the promotion of two of the earliest railroads in the State, and was a Trustee and a liberal patron of Illinois College from 1835 until his death in 1853.12

<sup>12</sup> Washburne's Edwards Papers, p. 586; Snyder's Adam W. Snyder, p. 103; Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, p. 356.

David J. Baker was born in Connecticut in 1792. In 1800 the family moved to Ontario County, New York, where his youth was spent on a farm. In 1816 he graduated from Hamilton College and three years later was admitted to the bar. Locating in Kaskaskia in 1819, the year after the arrival of Mather, he soon occupied as prominent a position in the legal profession as did the latter in the commercial field. The testimony of contemporaries indicates that he was considered the most accurate pleader and one of the ablest lawyers in that part of the State. He held the position of Probate Judge of Randolph County for a number of years, and in 1830 Governor Edwards appointed him United States Senator to fill the vacancy created by the death of John McLean. His senatorial career lasted only a single session, but he was appointed United States District Attorney for Illinois in 1833 and held the position for eight years. Although Baker never appears to have been a candidate for an elective office, he took an active interest in politics and was one of the most aggressive opponents of the scheme to make Illinois a slave State. A number of letters from him, which have been published, show that he was an active supporter of Governor Edwards, and he seems to have wielded considerable political influence.18

Of the seven New England men whose careers have just been sketched, two came to Illinois in 1802 and the remainder in the half-decade following the close of the War of 1812. Other New Englanders who came during this period are Curtis Blakeman,<sup>14</sup> Stephen Stillman,<sup>15</sup> and John Yorke Sawyer,<sup>16</sup> members of the legislature during

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Washburne's Edwards Papers, consult index; Gillespie's Recollections, p. 16; Bench and Bar of Illinois, Vol. II, pp. 689, 873; Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, p. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Washburne's Sketch of Edward Coles, p. 117; History of Madison County (1882), pp. 83, 494; Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV, p. 47.

<sup>15</sup> Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, p. 508.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Reynolds's My Own Times, p. 251; History of Madison County (1882), p. 188; Bench and Bar of Illinois, Vol. I, pp. 152, 290; Vol. II, pp. 1037, 1047, 1094; Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, p. 398.

the period under consideration; Pascal Paoli Enos. 17 receiver of public monies in the land office at Springfield and one of the proprietors of the town; William H. Brown, 18 one of the editors of the Illinois Intelligencer of Vandalia from 1820 to 1823, who wrote an editorial denouncing the methods by which the convention resolution was passed and as a consequence was forced out of the partnership; John Tillson,19 a candidate for State Treasurer in 1827 and a leader in the anti-convention cause: Gaius Paddock 20 and Gershom Flagg, 21 prominent pioneer farmers of Madison County and opponents of the convention movement; and the Rev. John Mason Peck 22 who devoted his long life to the advancement of civilization in the Mississippi Valley. During the period from 1821 to the Black Hawk War, not more than two or three New Englanders of prominence are known to have come to Illinois. The most plausible explanation of this would seem to be the "hard times" which prevailed in the West for a number of years following the financial crisis of 1819.

Enough has been said to make it clear that there was a New England element in Illinois politics before 1833, that its relative size, though less than that of some of the other sectional elements, was larger than has generally

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Power's History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, p. 289; History of Madison County (1882), p. 478; Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, p. 158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI, p. 340; Washburne's Edwards Papers, p. 354; Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, pp. 62, 577.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Reynolds's My Own Times, p. 433; Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV, p. 99; Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, pp. 483, 523.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> History of Madison County (1882), p. 87; Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, p. 411.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Flaggi Family Records (1907), pp. 50-52; Pioneer Letters of Gershom Flagg in Illinois State Historical Society Transactions, 1910, pp. 139-183; Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, p. 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Babcock's Memoir of J. W. Peck; History of St. Clair County (1881), p. 54; Reynolds's My Own Times, pp. 196, 221, 242, 428, 435, 437; Washburne's Edwards Papers, p. 445; Bateman and Selby's Historic Encyclopedia, pp. 35, 397, 417.

been supposed, and that its character was, as might be expected, "eminently respectable". From the statistics which have been given, no very definite conclusions can be drawn as to the proportions of this element in the population as a whole; for it is quite possible that the participation of New Englanders in politics was greater, or less, in proportion to their numbers in the community, than that of the other elements. This can only be determined by a more extensive statistical study embracing all classes of the population. As to the attitude of the Southern element toward the "Yankees", however, something more definite can be said. It is doubtless true that they were held in aversion by certain classes, but the idea that this feeling was universal or even widespread, among the small farmer class which made up the bulk of the Southern element fades away in the light of the extent to which these same "Yankees" were elected to office in nearly every part of the State.

## NEW ENGLAND AND THE WESTERN RESERVE

By KARL F. GEISER

From the organization of Congress in 1789 down to the Civil War, the debates of that body show a divided attitude toward the pioneer of the West. John Randolph pronounced the Western country a land "where any man may get beastly drunk for three pence sterling." He ridiculed the pioneers as "men in hunting shirts, with deer-skin leggings and moccasins on their feet . . . . . men with rifles on their shoulders and long knives in their belts, seeking in the forests to lay in their next winter's supply of bear meat." This rebuke, delivered in Congress in 1824, was not allowed to pass unchallenged, however, for a few days later Robert P. Letcher, of Kentucky, on the floor of the House, replied: "Sir, with the utmost frankness, I admit their external appearance is not the most fashionable and elegant kind; they are not decorated in all the style, the gaiety and the taste of a dandy of the first water. Their means are too limited and their discretion is too great, I trust, for the indulgence of such foppery and extravagance. . . . Sir, these are the very citizens of whom the nation ought to be proud. They constitute the bone, and sinew, and strength, of your Government. In the hour of peril and danger they are always ready to rally around the standard of their country. Call upon them to maintain the honor of the nation, to defend her rights, they set up no Constitutional scruples, in answer to your call, about crossing boundary lines!" 1

These two opinions are suggestive, if not typical, of the attitude of members of Congress toward the pioneers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As quoted by Kenneth W. Colgrove in *The Iowa Journal of History* and Politics, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 3-5.

of the West and towards the problem of the disposal of the public lands from the time of the organization of the Northwest Territory until the establishment by Congress of a definite policy in regard not only to public lands and pioneers in the West, but in regard to the policy of frontier protection and internal improvements - if, indeed, it may be said that Congress ever established a definite policy. Whatever may be the facts concerning this point, opinions in and out of Congress were divided upon the question of the effect and value of the Western settlements upon the national life and government during the period mentioned. The recorded opinions of that time have become interesting annals of our history from which we may now know the true prophets of that generation; for later history has placed its sober and final verdict decidedly in favor of the worth and value of the Western pioneer to American political and social institutions. So universally, indeed, is this now conceded that the mere mention of it may seem a supererogatory statement; and yet it is well to be reminded that competent minds were not always of the same opinion upon this now patent fact, and that a study of Western civilization in its relation to the East — which, in this case, is New England — is, in its broadest sense, a study of relations and adjustments preparatory to a higher development of national life and that the resultant principles are applicable with equal force to modern conditions. The pioneer of reform is but the early Western pioneer in modern life.

American political institutions have usually developed either from forces within the old institution and growing out of it, or from independent forces operating from without and modifying its development. The social and political institutions of Western Reserve developed from a combination of these two conditions. Here we have New England Puritanism transferring or projecting itself into a new environment, preserving in a large meas-

ure - at least in the first half century - its New England qualities, yet hampered by no customs or traditions in its further development, and acted upon by forces springing from a new soil and new environments. Western Reserve is the last home of colonized Puritanism, for it was in a great degree - especially on its social and religious side - a New England colony. While individuals and families have carried Puritanism beyond the Mississippi. even to the Pacific slope, in no other place in the West does its united organizing quality appear to such an extent, and in no other place has its social and religious flavor permeated and dominated the thought and life of so large a community. We can best understand to what an extent New England was a factor in the life and thought, and in the development of the social, religious, and political institutions of the Western Reserve by turning to its history, for New England gave it its birth and her influence constitutes the main thread in the tissue of its life.

When Connecticut ceded her Western territory to the general government, September 14, 1786, she reserved a tract lying along the south shore of Lake Erie, north of the forty-first parallel and extending one hundred and twenty miles west from the western boundary of Pennsylvania. In New England this tract was generally called "New Connecticut", while in the West it was usually called "The Western Reserve of Connecticut". It was about the size of old Connecticut and has since been organized into twelve counties. Of this tract the Connecticut legislature granted on September 5, 1792, to those of her citizens who had suffered from fire and other spoliation by British troops during the Revolutionary War, a half million acres from the west end of the Reserve called the "Fire Lands". Three years later on September 5,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Western Reserve counties are as follows: Ashtabula, Cuyahoga, Erie, Geauga, Huron, Lake, Lorain, Mahoning, Medina, Portage, Summit, and Trumbull. Erie and Huron counties constitute the "Fire Lands".

<sup>3</sup> The number of citizens receiving lands from these grants was 1,870.

1795, the State executed a deed to John Caldwell. Jonathan Brace, and John Morgan, trustees of the Connecticut Land Company, for 3,000,000 acres which included all that remained to the State and comprehended practically all of the Reserve except the "Fire Lands". Only a few thousand acres had been sold by the State before the Connecticut Land Company was organized, though provision for the sale of the Reserve lands east of the Cuyahoga River had been made in October, 1786. On the 10th of February, 1788, the first deed from the State was issued to Samuel H. Parsons of Middletown, Connecticut. He seems to have been familiar with the Western country, had held the office of judge under the Territorial government, and was a member of the order of the "Cincinnati". This grant conveyed 25,000 acres of the Reserve lands, known as the "Salt Spring Tract", in Trumbull County.4 The three trustees to whom the greater portion of the Reserve was sold organized a company of fifty-eight members from Connecticut, whose management was entrusted to seven directors, with Moses Cleveland, one of the directors, as general agent. The State had issued to this company a quitclaim deed conveying only such title as it possessed and leaving to the purchasers the duty of extinguishing the Indian titles to the land. Early in 1796 a party of fifty-two citizens of Connecticut, headed by Moses Cleveland, set out for the Reserve, reaching Buffalo on the 17th of June where they met with the principal chiefs of the Six Nations, completed a contract for the purchase of the Indian rights to the Reserve for "five hundred pounds of New York Currency to be paid in goods to the Western Indians, and two beef cattle and 100 gallons of whiskey to the Eastern Indians, besides gifts and provisions to them all." They arrived at the confines of New Connecticut on July 4, 1796, and proceeded to Conneaut where they pitched their tents, erected a

<sup>4</sup> Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts, Vol. I, No. 30.

cabin, began the surveys to their newly acquired lands, and opened the Reserve to settlers.

But the political status of the early settlers was for a time undecided, since Connecticut did not assume civil jurisdiction over the land she had sold. Governor St. Clair had organized Washington County in 1788 in the eastern part of the territory and this included a part of the Reserve, but the settlers did not feel that the government thus established was suited to their needs and most of them doubted its legality. Eight counties had been erected in the Northwest Territory by 1800 but none of them were in the Reserve. No magistrate had been appointed for that portion of the country and no civil process was established; there was no mode of making legal conveyances and no authority to enforce contracts.5 But in 1800 Connecticut transferred to the national government all claims to civil jurisdiction, and Congress assumed political control. In pursuance of this authority. Governor St. Clair established by proclamation Trumbull County which included the entire area of the Reserve, the "Fire Lands", and the adjacent islands. The first election was held at Warren, its county seat, on the second Tuesday of October, 1800. Forty-two votes were cast, and Edward Paine, of Connecticut birth and the founder of Painesville, received thirty-eight votes and was thus elected as the first representative to the Territorial legislature. By a treaty between the Land Company and the Indians, all lands in the Reserve west of the Cuvahoga River belonging to the Indians were ceded to the Company, thus giving them a full title to their complete purchase. Counties were now organized: Geauga County was organized in 1805, Portage in 1807, Cuyahoga in 1810, and Ashtabula in 1812. Many of the Indians remained on the Reserve till the breaking out of the War of 1812 when a portion of them joined with their Canadian breth-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts, Vol. I, No. 20.

ren in taking up arms against the United States. At the close of the War occasional bands wandered back to their old hunting grounds on the Cuyahoga and Mahoning rivers, but the settlers soon made them understand that they were unwelcome visitors after the part they had taken against them in the War, and they soon disappeared. Thus in 1812 the Reserve was practically cleared of the Indians and the first step in the conquest of the Western Reserve was complete.

It is thus to be noted that whatever beginnings existed on the Reserve up to 1800 were of purely New England origin. The original surveys were made by New Englanders; the Company owning the entire Reserve was a Connecticut company, and since there was no general civil authority over the tract between 1795 and 1800. the institutions established originated entirely from voluntary action on the part of the local inhabitants, practically all of whom were New Englanders. In 1798 there were fifteen families on the Reserve. In 1800 the entire population on the Reserve was 1,302, and at the close of the year these were grouped into thirty-two settlements, nearly all being from Connecticut; and, although as yet no organized government was established, "the pioneers were a people who had been trained in the principles and practices of civil order and these were transferred to their new homes." There was but little lawlessness which so often characterizes the people of a new country. After 1800 the population increased rapidly; townships were organized, ministers appointed, schools established after the manner of New England, and thus were planted the beginnings of institutions of New England origin, centuries old, in the "far west". General Garfield, one of the most distinguished sons of the Reserve, in an address delivered in 1873 said: "There are townships on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Address by James A. Garfield in Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts, Vol. I, No. 20.

this Western Reserve which are more thoroughly New England in character and spirit than most of the towns of the New England of to-day. Cut off as they were from the Metropolitan life that had gradually been molding and changing the spirit of New England, they preserved here in the wilderness the characteristics of New England as it was when they left it at the beginning of the century. This has given the people of the Western Reserve those strongly marked qualities which have always distinguished them."<sup>7</sup>

The township was thus the first political institution established. It was the primary unit of civil government and the plan of survey - five miles square - readily lent itself to the adoption of the New England system of local government. There were, however, some important differences between the settlements here and the first settlements in New England. The townships were not drafted on the pattern of New England with the highways converging to the center of the town where the meeting house was located, with one exception - Talmadge Township in Summit County. Neither did they come here as they came to New England, because of religious dissatisfaction; nor was there any need to fortify themselves against the Indians, because they were generally friendly and mingled freely with the new settlers; tillable land being abundant, there was no common ownership in the New England sense, and hence the social instinct was less developed; neither were the settlements always made in church groups as in early New England. A settlement often began with a family; sometimes a single individual who purchased a whole township, left his family in New England, visited his purchase, built a cabin, and returned the following year to bring his family and a few necessary household utensils such as could be conveyed in a wagon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Address by James A Garfield in Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts, Vol. I, No. 20.

drawn by a team of horses or oxen. The journey from New England — about 600 miles from Connecticut — was beset with hardships and dangers and was, therefore, often made by the early settlers in groups numbering from ten to forty. Many of the letters of these early settlers have been preserved and from them we may review the life and institutions of these sturdy pioneers.8 I give extracts from one which is typical: "I was born at Middlefield, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, September 1, 1800. . . . In the Spring of 1807 my father, Samuel Taylor, determined to remove to Ohio, and on the eighth of May our family, with those of Jeremiah Root, Benjamin Eggleston and Joseph Eggleston, numbering in all thirty-six persons, took leave of our relatives and neighbors and started on our journey . . . . we were four days on the road from Warren to Aurora, a distance of less than thirty miles, where our journey of forty-five days terminated June 22, 1807. When we built our first log cabin the nearest neighbor on the north was 30 miles away; on the west, 60 miles; on the east about 8 miles and on the south of Aurora, about ten to eleven miles to a house in Franklin township.

"At that time Ohio was a vast wilderness with but few inhabitants, except the Indians, who outnumbered the whites, 2 or 3 to 1; but the forests were filled with deer, bear, wolves, elks, raccoon, wildcats, turkeys, and various other kinds of wild animals. . . . During the night-time we had serenades from the hooting owls, the growling of bears or the more enlivening howl of the wolf, the recollection of which enables me to appreciate a certain kind of operatic music which we now hear in some of our public assemblies. . . . A few days after our arrival I was sent to a school kept in a log school house, by Miss Polly Cannon, who received her education in Massachusetts. . . .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Annals of the Early Settlers' Association of Cuyahoga County; also Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts, Vols. I, II, III.

Our teachers of that day were men and women who had been educated at the East and were generally of a high order of talent." <sup>9</sup>

From another letter describing events from 1803 to 1806, I quote:

"I attended a celebration on the fourth at Joel Paines; they fired guns, gave toasts and drank whiskey, made for the occasion over at Thompson's still, at the mouth of the Tiber. He also had a grist mill for grinding corn; he could put in a bushel of corn at night and in the morning it was corn meal. The mill stones came from near Willoughby (then called Chagrin); two men brought them on their shoulders with a hand spike through the eye — one at a time. The still was brought from Pittsburg on a one horse dray. The dray was made by fastening two long poles to the harness — one each side of the horse - the other ends dragged on the ground; pins fastened the poles together a little behind the horse, and the load is fastened to the pins. . . . The Indians were all about us . . . they were perfectly friendly. . . . In the fall of 1803 my father and Capt. Skinner laid out a town and called it 'New Market'. . . . . It was situated between Skinner's and Gen. Paine's farms along the river." 10

The above extracts suggest, and a careful perusal of the numerous letters, published recollections, and annals confirm the opinion, that though the early settlers of the Reserve were of Puritan stock, there were strong influences that tended to degrade the moral and religious elements of Puritanism; at least such is the opinion of Joseph Badger, the first missionary sent to the Reserve by the Connecticut Missionary Society. In 1802 he records in his *Memoirs* that "Infidelity and profaning the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Annals of the Early Settlers' Association of Cuyahoga County, Vol. II, pp. 148 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Annals of the Early Settlers' Association of Cuyahoga County, Vol. II, pp. 132 ff.

71

Sabbath are general in this new place (Newburg) and bid fair to grow into a hardened, corrupt society." A Fourth of July celebration at Hudson in 1801, where about thirty had assembled, is noted as follows: "After an appropriate prayer, the oration was delivered, interlarded with many grossly illiberal remarks against Christians and Christianity." 12 It would thus appear that if the Bible was the chief work of literature read by the early settlers on the Reserve, as is so often stated by the historian, it was by no means the only literature. In this scattered population of wide areas, of small communities and families, isolated by forests, freedom of thought accompanied freedom of action, and there is reason to believe that it often preceded it and that many left their New England homes who were not dominated by the Westminster standards and who were out of sympathy with the New England creed. Volney and many other "infidel" writers were read, according to Badger, and no small part of that noble missionary's work was directed against the irreligious ideas current among the earlier settlers. He frequently appealed to the Connecticut Missionary Society for literature to counteract these influences. Mr. Badger's work, however, seems to have been very successful, and there were periods of great religious fervor. On one occasion, in 1803, he "preached to about 3,000 people collected for a sacramental sermon." As to the character of the preaching, he says: "There was nothing in the preaching calculated to move the passions otherwise than what is contained in the doctrine of total depravity, repentance, and faith as preached by all Calvinistic men." 14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Rev. Joseph Badger's Memoirs (edited by Henry N. Day, 1851), p. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Rev. Joseph Badger's Memoirs (edited by Henry N. Day, 1851), p. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Rev. Joseph Badger's *Memoirs* (edited by Henry N. Day, 1851), p. 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Rev. Joseph Badger's Memoirs (edited by Henry N. Day, 1851), p. 52.

Watt's psalms and hymns which had not been used in any church, excepting one, west of the Alleghenies prior to 1801, were now for the first time introduced. The old Scotch version had everywhere been used with strong prejudices in its favor, and Mr. Badger seemed very much surprised that reading the "Hartford Hymns created no disturbance." In passing it should be said that Mr. Badger was more than a mere preacher of sectarianism. He preached the Gospel in the broadest sense, but his work was also that of an instructor in other educational lines. A graduate of Yale, endowed with intellectual powers that would have won fame at home, he set out, with his family of six children, for the wilderness of the West at a salary of seven dollars a week. His work took him away from his family for months at a time, while he was visiting the sick, making friends of the Indians, supplying books, establishing schools, social libraries, and in every way aiding the cause of humanity. When the War of 1812 broke out he worked among the Indians, persuading them to fight for the United States against England. General Harrison appointed him Chaplain and Postmaster of the army which was sent to guard the frontier, and in this position he also rendered valuable aid as scout and guide. He was, in fact, a heroic character who did much - perhaps as much as any single individual - to carry Puritan ideas into Western Reserve. Perhaps in no other field did New England exert a greater influence in Western Reserve than in the religious activities of the pioneer missionaries sent out by the missionary societies of the East. The work of such men as Joseph Badger, Thomas Robbins, David Bacon, John Seward, Harvey Coe, Simeon Woodruff, William Hanford and Caleb Pitkin has left a permanent impress. These men labored under the auspices of the Connecticut Missionary Society, and fifteen churches were organized as early as 1823; 15 and since

<sup>15</sup> Ohio Church History Society Papers, Vol. VIII, pp. 62 ff.

73

Congregationalism in Ohio is essentially a New England contribution, we may form a general estimate of its influence in the Reserve compared with other parts of Ohio by the distribution of the church members of that denomination in the State. The Congregational Year Book of 1856, the earliest one giving adequate statistics, gives the total number of members in Ohio as 12,822, and of these 9,330 were on the Reserve.

The early missionaries of the Western Reserve were also the pioneers in the educational system of the new West. In October, 1786, the General Assembly of Connecticut passed an act for a survey of the Reserve with the proviso that 500 acres in every township should be reserved for the support of the ministry and the same amount for the support of the public schools within the township, but only 24,000 acres were sold when the act was repealed. When the land was finally sold, the funds accruing from these sales were applied to the schools of the State; thus the State at first proposed to make a generous endowment for education in the Reserve, but abandoned the idea "at the same time that her children were going by thousands into 'New Connecticut' where they were left to provide themselves with schools as best they could." 16 The enabling act of 1802 for the admission of the State to the Union gave Section No. 36 to the inhabitants of every congressional township in Ohio for educational purposes; another act vested the title of the lands in the State legislature; but these acts did not apply to the Western Reserve, the Virginia Military District, or the United States Military Bounty Lands, amounting in all to about one-third of the whole area of the State. Connecticut appropriated to her own use the whole of the reservation; so did Virginia, leaving the people of these sections at a disadvantage. But Congress came to their

<sup>16</sup> Hinsdale's The History of Popular Education on the Western Reserve, in the Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications, Vol. VI, p. 37.

aid and put them on the same footing as the rest of the State.

Neither did the framers of the State Constitution of 1802 contemplate a school system supported by the State. Article VIII of that act merely provides that "schools and the means of instruction shall for ever be encouraged by legislative provisions" and that "no law shall be passed to prevent the poor in the several counties and townships within the state" from equal privileges in educational institutions supported in whole or in part from donations made by the United States. Section 27 of the same article gives associations the right to apply for charters of incorporation and the right to hold real and personal property for school purposes. In other words, there was no more contemplated by the framers of the first Constitution in regard to schools than the granting of corporate powers and protecting the rights of person and property. All laws relative to schools down to 1821 dealt only with school lands and all education prior to that time was purely voluntary.17 It was the early missionaries who first called attention to the educational needs. Mr. Badger writes on April 8, 1810: "By preaching in different settlements and visiting small schools, now beginning to be set up. I learned the great want of school books; and by family visits, I also learned the want of suitable books in families." He himself undertook the business of supplying the books and wrote to "several gentlemen dealing largely in books both in Boston and Hartford", but he did not succeed very well financially. "although the schools were supplied with books, and some social libraries furnished. Book dealers forwarded many unsalable books. The War coming on increased the expense of transportation and books soon fell below their

<sup>17</sup> Hinsdale's The History of Popular Education on the Western Reserve, in the Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications, Vol. VI, p. 39.

18 Rev. Joseph Badger's Memoirs (edited by Henry N. Day, 1851), p. 126.

former price." He therefore sold out all he could and gave the rest to poor people. As early as 1801 Mr. Badger suggested the idea of obtaining a charter from the legislature authorizing the establishment of a college. In 1803 a charter was granted incorporating the "Erie Literary Society", Joseph Hudson being named the first incorporator and Rev. Joseph Badger the last. Private donations of land furnished the means of putting up a building in 1806 two stories high, the first story being used for common school purposes and the second for an academy and for religious worship on Sunday. This was the beginning of Burton Academy, in which Seabury Ford, afterwards elected Governor of Ohio, was fitted for Yale College where he graduated in 1825. Peter Hitchcock, the first teacher, was afterward elevated to the Supreme Bench of the State, and David Tod, the eminent War Governor of Ohio, was also educated here. A theological department was later added under the influence of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches. But the introduction of sectarianism reduced its patronage to such a hopeless extent that the institution was removed to Hudson, where it was called "Western Reserve College" and where it achieved a wide reputation. In 1882 it was removed to Cleveland, where it was called "Adelbert College of Western Reserve University". 20 Thus the first institution of higher education began with the primitive settlers who brought with them little else than their Puritan faith — a faith in themselves, in schools and churches, and a belief in the efficacy of moral virtues.

In the history of the development of the common school system of Ohio, New England influence was likewise strong. In the Constitutional Convention of 1851 the members from the Reserve, many of them of New England birth, wielded a dominating influence. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Rev. Joseph Badger's Memoirs (edited by Henry N. Day, 1851), p. 126.

<sup>20</sup> Rice's Sketches of Western Life, p. 97.

school laws made in accordance with that Constitution were largely the work of Harvey Rice, born in Massachusetts in 1800, and John W. Willey, one of the early settlers of Cleveland and a descendant of a Massachusetts family.

Thus far the influence of New England in Western Reserve has been considered primarily in regard to church and religious life and education. A word should also be said of those distinguished political leaders and jurists who on the Reserve rose to fame and national reputation. Joshua R. Giddings, though born in Pennsylvania, was a product of the Western Reserve. Rufus P. Ranney, whom Rhodes 21 has called the best lawyer and soundest judge in Ohio, was born in Massachusetts, as was also Benjamin Wade. During the first half century of statehood the Reserve gave six judges to the Supreme Court of Ohio, four of whom were born in Connecticut, one in Vermont, and one in Massachusetts; and the decisions of some of these judges were important, since the earlier decisions upon questions of law incident to a new country formed precedents which established a system of Western common law which has since become a standard authority. One of these judges was Calvin Pease whose decisions are contained in the first four volumes of "Hammond's Reports" which were the first law reports published by the State. The decisions of these judges were by no means always popular and it is interesting to note that in 1808 the legislature impeached Judges Tod, Sprigg, and Huntington of the Supreme Court for declaring a law of the legislature unconstitutional. They escaped by only one vote but in 1809 the legislature passed an act declaring their offices vacant. The case arose on appeal from a justice in Western Reserve and the feeling on this subject is shown in a letter to Judge Tod, also from the Reserve, written by a member of the legislature and one of the framers of the Constitution of 1802.

<sup>21</sup> Rhodes's History of the United States, Vol. I, p. 299.

contents of this letter has such a familiar ring that one might readily believe it had been inspired by the presidential campaign of 1912. It reads in part as follows:

"Hon. George Tod — Sir: If the judges have a right to set aside laws, because they seem to them unconstitutional, the people have no security, except the infallibility of the judges.

"If the judges have a right to set aside laws because they are unconstitutional, they cannot be removed from office, because it would be hard indeed to remove a judge for error in judgment. If the judges have a right to set laws aside, then the people have no power left them, except choosing their representatives, for the representatives may enact laws, the judges set them aside, and thus Government would be at an end. . . . If the people allow the judges to set aside laws, does it not make the judiciary a complete aristocratic branch by setting the judges over the heads of the legislature?

"Nothing, I think, could have originated the idea, except it is the scripture account of God and the devil—one to create, the other to destroy." 22

But, besides the distinguished leaders, in religious thought, in education, politics, and law, who achieved national distinction, one is impressed in tracing out the history of the local communities on the Reserve, to find so many names of men and women who rendered service to their city, county, State, and even nation — names falling a little below the range of the national historian — yet representing services upon which great national issues have turned and have been decided for the right. The majority of these persons were named in New England for they were of New England birth.

Briefly summarized, the investigation of our subject leads to the following conclusions: that the early settlers of the Reserve were almost wholly of New England stock;

<sup>22</sup> Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 3 ff.

that the first settlements were made by families or in small groups scattered throughout the Reserve, and in each of these groups a local leadership was developed which shaped the social, religious, and political life of the community. This leadership remained in the hands of the New Englanders long after the original Puritan was outnumbered by the native born and the immigrant who came from outside of New England; 23 moreover, it is evident that one of the chief elements of Puritanism - reverence for religion — tended to disappear when the scattered settlements passed from under the influence of an organized church community but was reëstablished or revived by the work of the missionaries; that the common school system and higher education were of New England origin; that the two chief lines of New England influence were religious and educational; that the connection between New England and the Reserve was personal, not political; and that out of it all developed the Western Puritan. The total result of these beginnings belongs to a later period, but if what Ranke says 24 is true in principle, namely that no community ever rose to important consequences in which the religious motive was not dominant, it may find its verification in the history of the Western Reserve.

<sup>23</sup> In 1840 only about one-fourth of those living on the Reserve came from New England.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ranke's Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation, Vol. I, Introduction.

## THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT AND ITS DESCENDANTS

#### By Lois Kimball Mathews

The history of the social compact in theory and in practice in this country has ordinarily been confined within the limits of the formation of the Articles of Confederation and the Civil War. It has been assumed, moreover, that the constitution-makers of the Revolutionary epoch learned the theory of the social contract from Rousseau. or from Locke, or from Milton, or from all three; at all events that our ancestors got the compact idea from books, and not from practical experience. It has further been assumed that the compact idea flourished almost exclusively in Southern soil after 1832, when Hayne and Calhoun showed its especial applicability to Southern needs. Yet compact-making was an old and well known process in 1775 and its vestiges, in modified form, survived after 1865. While Milton was but a lad the Separatist in New England was working out a Bible Commonwealth and utilizing in unexpected ways his church covenant. When Locke put forth his Essay on Government, while he could teach the American frontiersman the philosophical basis of the town compact and the New England Confederation, the American pioneer might in turn have shown Locke the veritable workings of what the English philosopher had put forth as a theoretical hypothesis. It is not the purpose of this paper to delve into the theoretical or scientific aspect of the question, nor to draw fine philosophical distinctions as between compact and compact. It is one historical side of the question with which this study is concerned: to show how compact-making became, as it were, indigenous to American soil; how it has

aided in developing settlement by accompanying bands of Pilgrims into new wildernesses and how, though adapted and enlarged to meet changing conditions, it long remained a part of our social, political, and economic life.

Of the long series of compacts, small and large, which our history has recorded, the foremost in point of time is the Mayflower Compact of 1620; and taking its characteristics in the large, all compacts of New England settlers may be said to have descended from it, since the same necessities, the same antecedents and the same habit of mind begot them all. Superficially they differ; fundamentally all their traits may be found in the association entered into on the Mayflower and the laws enacted under its auspices. Nor was the Mayflower Compact the first the Pilgrims had entered into. Covenanting had become even in 1620 in a sense their habit. At least twice had they effected combinations binding them into Separatist churches. Following their Calvinistic beliefs and the necessity for some organization by which they might know their constituent members they had in 1606, by "covenant of the Lord", "joyned" themselves into a church estate; and again in Leyden they had formed by covenant a Separatist church.2 Their life in Holland had undoubtedly made them cognizant of the possibility of a confedera-

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;So many therfore of these professors, as saw the evil of these things, in these parts, and whose harts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeale for his trueth, they shooke of this yoake of antichristian bondage, and as the Lords free people, joyned themselves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in the felowship of the gospell, to walke in all his wayes, made known, or to be made known unto them according to their best endeavours, whatsoever it should cost them the Lord assisting them. . . These people became 2 distincte bodys or churches, and in regarde of distance of place did congregate severally".—Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation (Wm. T. Davis, ed. 1908), p. 31.

<sup>2&</sup>quot;Being thus settled (after many difficulties) they continued many years in a comfortable condition, injoying much sweete and delightefull societe and spirituall comforts togeather in the wayes of God, under the able ministire, and prudent governmente of Mr. John Robinson, and Mr. William Brewster, who was an assistante unto him in the place of an Elder unto

tion such as the Union of Utrecht had brought about, and it is possible that this political bond influenced not only their first association in America in 1620 but the larger combination with the other New England Colonies in 1643. However that may be, when a portion of the Leyden church for diverse reasons determined to settle in America, under the auspices of the Virginia Company, Robinson and Brewster spoke of their bond of union in Leyden as a mutual compact. Months later, after arrangements with the Virginia Company had advanced so far that they could plan for emigration to America, the emigrants entered into still another covenant, making a new Separatist church to transplant to American soil.

which he was now called and chosen by the church. So as they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the spirite of God, and lived together in peace, and love, and holines'.—Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation (Wm. T. Davis, ed. 1908), pp. 39, 40.

s''But at length the conclusion was, to live as a distincte body by themselves, under the generall Government of Virginia; and by their freinds to sue to his majestie that he would be pleased to grant them freedome of Religion; and that this might be obtained, they wear putt in good hope by some great persons, of good ranke and qualitie, that were made their friends. Whereupon 2. were chosen and sent in to England (at the charge of the rest) to sollicite this matter, who found the Virginia Company very desirous to have them goe thither, and willing to grante them a patent, with as ample privileges as they had, or could grant to any, and to give them the best furderance they could''.—Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation (Wm. T. Davis, ed. 1908), p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to Sir Edwin Sandys, dated Leyden, December 15, 1617, and signed by John Robinson and William Brewster:

"We are knite together as a body in a most stricte and sacred bond and covenante of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by vertue whereof we doe hould our selves straitly tied to all care of each others good, and of the whole by every one and so mutually".—Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation (Wm. T. Davis, ed. 1908), pp. 54. 55.

5''It was also agreed on by mutuall consente and covenante, that those that went should be an absolute church of them selves, as well as those that staid; seeing in such a dangerous vioage, and a removall to such a distance, it might come to pass they should (for the body of them) never meete againe in this world''. — Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation (Wm. T. Davis, ed. 1908), p. 64.

It is not necessary to follow the details of preparation for the new colony, nor of the actual voyage. Suffice it to say that, driven out of their course by wind and storm and finding themselves outside the limits, as they supposed, of the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company, they joined themselves together anew by that famous document "The Mayflower Compact". This compact is nothing more nor less than a church covenant, turned to civil uses, and in lieu of other government made to serve as the foundation for a theocracy.

The statement is made that the subscribers do by these presents, "covenant and combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equal lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." To this document the men present subscribed their names

<sup>6&#</sup>x27;'For none had power to command them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New England, which belonged to an other government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to doe''.—Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation (Wm. T. Davis, ed. 1908), p. 106.

<sup>7 &</sup>quot;In ye name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, France & Ireland King, defender of ye faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant ve first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginie, doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye 11. of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie fourth. An. Dom. 1620." - Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation (Wm. T. Davis, ed. 1908), p. 107.

in acceptance of the agreement. In other words, they combined themselves, members of a church, into a body for the enactment of laws, promising to be bound by obedience to what is undoubtedly the law of the majority. Under this mutual compact they proceeded as a church, as a town, and as a legislating body. Here is indeed "squatter sovereignty" at its inception. Thus the Mayflower Compact is a typical accompaniment of settlement on a wilderness frontier, beyond the limits of organized government.

This is but the beginning of what came in New England to be colonial practice. It is impossible to follow all the compacts which were made within the next few years. The records are doubtless full of such combinations, if one should set oneself to make a complete file of them. A few typical ones will illustrate the repetition of the practice of compact-making as the frontier was rolled backward toward the confines of New England. When Roger Williams found himself out of harmony with the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and no more in accord with the Plymouth settlement, he betook himself southward with a company of friends from Salem, and founded his town of Providence. Under date of August 20, 1636, may be found the following compact over thirteen signatures:

"We, whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active and passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families — incorporated together in a Towne fellowship, and others whom they shall admit unto them only in civil things." \*

In the same year William Pynchon, with his group of families from Roxbury, Massachusetts, founded the set-

<sup>\*</sup>Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, Vol. I, 1636 to 1663, p. 14. Signed by thirteen names. Note that church and state are here separated.

tlement of Springfield, which was then on the outer frontier within the limits of Massachusetts Bay Colony. Here again the settlers entered into an agreement by which, under date of May 14, 1636, the nine signers agreed to certain articles and orders, to be observed and kept by them and their successors. They intend, so they state, to procure a minister "with whom we purpose to joyne in Church Covenant"; to take in no more than forty or fifty families to form their town; to levy taxes upon land and meadows in equitable proportion and distribute land according to a settled scheme.

<sup>9</sup> The Covenant is as follows:

<sup>&</sup>quot;May the 14th, 1636.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Wee whose names are underwritten beinge by God's p'vidence ingaged to make a Plantation and over against Agawam upon Conecticot, do mutually agree to certayne articles and orders to be observed and kept by us and by our successors, except wee and every of us for ourselves and in our owne p'sons shall thinke meete uppon better reasons to alter our p'sent resolutions:

<sup>&</sup>quot;1.ly. Wee intend by God's grace as soone as wee can w'th all convenient speed to p'cure some Godly and faithfull minister with whome we purpose to Joyne in Church Covenant to walke in all the ways of Christ.

<sup>&</sup>quot;2 ly. Wee intend that our towne shall be composed of fourty familys, of if we thinke meete after to alter our purpose yet not to exceede the number of fifty familys, rich and poore.

<sup>&</sup>quot;3 ly. That every inhabitant shall have a convenient prortion for a house lott as we shall see meete for every ones quality and estate.

<sup>[4-8</sup> settle number of acres of pasture and meadow allotted to each settler.]

<sup>&</sup>quot;8 ly. That all rates that shal arise upon the towne shall be layed upon lands accordinge to every ones pportion aker for aker of house lotts and aker for aker of meddowe both alike on this side and both alike on the other side and for farms that shall lye further off a less pportion as we shall after agree, except we shall see meete to remitt one halfe of the rate from land to other estate.

<sup>&</sup>quot;9. [Since William Pynchon, Jehu Burr, and Henry Smith have borne the chief burden of expense, and have 'constantly continued to prosecute this plantation when others fell off for feare of the difficultys,' they are given extra meadow lands.]"

<sup>[10-13</sup> settle details as to house-lots, etc.]

<sup>[</sup>Signed by 9, who are called the first adventurers of the plantation.]

<sup>-</sup> From Burt's The First Century of Springfield, Vol. I, pp. 156, 157.

In Dedham, Massachusetts, in the same year, a covenant entered into by a hundred and twenty-five settlers, is an interesting combination of the church and town compact.<sup>10</sup>

In 1638 a disaffected body from the Massachusetts Bay Colony formed a settlement on Rhode Island. Their compact begins:

"The 7th day of the first month, 1638.

"We whose names are underwritten do here solemnly in the presence of Jehovah incorporate ourselves into a Bodie Politick and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ. . . .

10 Dedham Covenant, dated September 5, 1636:

"1. We whose names are here unto subscribed doe in the feare and Reverence of our Allmightie God, Mutually: and generally promise amongst our selves and each to other to pffesse and practise one trueth according to that most pfect rule, the foundation where of is Everlasting Love:

"2. That we shall by all meanes Laboure to keepe of from us all such as ar contrarye minded, and receave only such unto us as be such as may be peoply of one harte, with us, as that we either knowe or may well and truely be informed to walke in a peaceable conversation with all meekeness of spirit for the edification of each other in the knowledge and faith of the Lord Jesus, and the Mutuall encouragement unto all Temporall comforts in all things, seekeing the good of each other, out of all which may be derived true Peace.

"3. That if at any time difference shall arise between pties of our said Towne, that then such pties and pties shall prsonally Reserve all such difference unto some one 2 or 3 others of our said Societies to be fully accorded and determined without any further delaye, if it possibly may bee:

"4. That every man that now or at any time heareafter shall have Lotts in our said Towne shall paye his share in all such Rates of money and charges as shall be imposed upon him Rateably in protion with other men. As allso become freely subject unto all such orders and constitutions as shall be necessarily had or made now or at any time heereafter from this day forwarde as well as for loveing and comfortable societie in our said Towne as allso for the psperous and thriveing condition of our said fellowshipe especially respecting the feare of God in which we desire to begine and continue, whatsoever we shall by his Loveing favoure take in hand.

"5. And for the better manefestation of our true resolution heere in every man so receaved to subscribe heere unto his name, thereby obligeing both himself and his successors after him for ever as we have done."

[Signed by 125 names.]

<sup>-</sup> Dedham Historical Register, Vol. II, pp. 153, 154.

and to all those perfect and most absulute lawes of his given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby".

Following this beginning are regulations for the site of the town, the allotment of land, etc., as in the case of the Springfield Compact.<sup>11</sup>

The Exeter (New Hampshire) Colony was founded like most of those who found the Massachusetts Bay Commonwealth uncongenial — just outside the limits of Endicott's jurisdiction. The Rev. John Wheelwright, with thirty-five men, moved in 1639 as an organized church to their new home at Exeter and there entered into a compact more like the Mayflower Compact than any of the others which we have examined. While its arrangement is different, the phraseology is in some cases identical with that of the earlier document.<sup>12</sup> Here, as in the

<sup>11</sup> For the Rhode Island Compact, see Records of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, Vol. I, 1636-1663, pp. 52, 53.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The 7th day of the first month, 1638.

<sup>&</sup>quot;We that are Freemen Incorporate of this Bodie Politick do Elect and Constitute William Coddington, Esquire, a Judge amongst us, and so covenant to yield all our honour unto him according to the lawes of God, and so far as in us lyes to maintain the honour and privileges, of his place, which shall hereafter be ratified according unto God, the Lord helping us so to do.

William Aspinwall, Sec'ry.

<sup>&</sup>quot;I William Coddington, Esquire, being called and chosen by the Freeman Incorporate of this Bodie Politick, to be a Judge amongst them do covenant to do justice and Judgment impartially according to the lawes of God, and to maintaine the Fundamentall Rights and Privileges of this Bodie Politick, which shall hereafter be ratified according unto God, the Lord helping us so to do.

[Signed] William Coddington.

<sup>&</sup>quot;At a generall meeting upon publicke notice, there being present [13 names].

<sup>&</sup>quot;It is ordered, that none shall be received as inhabitants or Freemen, to build or plant upon the Island but such as shall be received in by the consent of the Bodye, and do submit to the Government that is or shall be established, according to the word of God."

<sup>[</sup>Regulations for site of town, allotment of lands, etc., follow.] — Records of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Vol. I, 1636-1663, pp. 53, 54.

<sup>12&</sup>quot; Whereas it hath pleased the lord to move the heart of our Dread Soveraigne Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France & Ireland, to grant license & liberty to sundry of his subjects to plant

Mayflower Compact, they speak of combining themselves in the name of Christ and in the sight of God "to make and set up such government as shall be to our best discerning . . . . joining ourselves solemnly by grace and help of Christ and in his name and fear to submit ourselves to such godly and christian laws as are established in the realm of England to our best knowledge and to all other such laws which shall upon good grounds be made and inacted amongst us."

The neighbors of the Exeter men in Dover, finding themselves "in regard of want of Civil Government, his most gracious Majesty, having settled no order for us to our knowledge" the signers voluntarily agree to join themselves into a body politic in order not only to derive the benefit of English laws but also "all such laws as shall be concluded by a major part of the freemen of our society". Thus in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and

themselves in the westerne partes of America: Wee, his loyall subjects, brethren of the church of Exeter, situate & lying upon the river of Piscataquacke, wh other inhabitants there, considering wth ourselves the holy will of god and our owne necessity, that we should not live whout wholsome lawes & government amongst us, of weh we are altogether destitute; doe in the name of Christ & in the sight of God combine ourselves together, to erect & set up amongst us such government as shall be to our best discerning, agreeable to the will of god, professing ourselves subjects to our Sovereign Lord King Charles, according to the libertys of our English Colony of the Massachusetts & binding ourselves solemnely by the grace & helpe of Christ & in his name & fear to submitt ourselves to such godly & christian laws as are established in the realme of England to our best knowledge, & to all other such lawes web shall upon good grounds, be made & inacted amongst us according to God, yt we may live quietly & peaceablely together, in all godliness and honesty.

"Mon., 5th d., 4th, 1639."

[Signed by 35 names.]

— See Provincial Papers of New Hampshire, 1623-1686, Vol. I, p. 132. Compare this document with the Mayflower Compact, given in foot-note 7.

#### "A COMBINATION

"Of the people of Dover to Establish a Form of Government.

"Whereas sundry mischiefs and inconveniences have befallen us, and more and greater may, in regard to want of civil government, his most gracious Majesty having settled no order for us to our knowledge: We, whose New Hampshire by 1640 there is well known the practice of forming an organized church, moving into the wilderness, and there in lieu of settled government forming at once by a compact in a "civil body politic" to proceed to law-making and land-distributing. The whole religious, social, civil, and economic structure was being reared upon these foundations of mutual agreement and majority rule.

Another aspect of the compact theory is by 1640 also evident in New England. It is indeed the corollary of association by compact, namely, secession. For instance, the church at Lynn, Massachusetts, from the first a strongly individualistic community, had from time to time watched small groups of disaffected persons found their own little Separatist churches and betake themselves to unsettled regions. Thus the discontented minority again and again seceded from what threatened to become a permanent majority, and quietly and unostentatiously withdrawing themselves from the old compact united themselves under a new one, which they moulded to their liking, and by these means were furthered the beginnings of Cape Cod and Long Island towns. Secession, the corollary of compact-making, became a practical solution of church difficulties, as it was later claimed to be of political maladies. One of the seceding churches will

names are underwritten, being inhabitants upon the river Piscataqua, have voluntarily agreed to combine ourselves into a body politic, that we may the more comfortably enjoy the benefit of his Majesty's laws, together with all such laws as shall be concluded by a major part of the freemen of our Society, in case they be not repugnant to the laws of England, and administered in behalf of his Majesty. And this we have mutually promised and engaged to do, and so continue till his excellent Majesty shall give other orders concerning us. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, Oct. 22, (1640), in the 16th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.''

Signed by 3 names, With 38 more.

— See Provincial Papers of New Hampshire, Vol. I, p. 126; also New Hampshire Historical Collections, Vol. I, p. 322.

serve as an example for the others. In 1640, forty families removed from Lynn to Southampton on Long Island. "They invited Mr. Abraham Pierson, of Boston, to become their minister, who, with seven of the emigrants, entered into a church covenant, before they left Lynn." 14 They also formed a civil compact, "and executed articles of confederation for their future government".15 The Colony appears to have made several different agreements, whereby the distribution of land, the admission of new inhabitants, and such improvements in their town as the construction and mending of highways, and the building of bridges were provided for. "The settlers stipulated with each other", says Thompson, the historian of the Southampton Colony, "to be governed by such laws and orders as should be made by the major vote, and to support the authority of the magistrates in executing such ordinances as should be in force among them". Thus the

<sup>14</sup> Newhall's History of Lynn, Massachusetts, p. 192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Thompson's *History of Long Island*, 2nd edition, Vol. I, pp. 326, 327. Thompson gives the following copy of one of these agreements:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Soon after the arrival of the first purchasers, they were joined by other families, according to a former agreement made at Lynn; for while there they entered into a civil compact, and executed articles of confederation for their future government. Of one of these instruments the following is a copy:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Know all men whome these presents may concerne, yt whereas it is expressed in our agreement that the power of disposinge of lands and admission of inhabitants into our plantacon, shall at all tymes remaine in the hands of us, the said undertakers, to us and our heyres forever; and our intent and meaning is, that when our plantacon is layd out by those appoynted accordinge to our artikle; and that there shall be a church gathered and constituted accordinge to the mynde of Christ, that then wee doe ffreely lay down our power both of orderinge and disposinge of the plantacon, and receivinge of inhabitants, or any other thinge, provided that they shall not doe anything contrary to the true meaninge of the fformer artikles. Ffurthermore, whereas it is expressed in a fformer artikle, that the lands of the undertakers should at all times remaine ffree, affordinge any helpe to build meetinge-houses, or makinge a bridge, or mendinge of highways and the like, during the time of their discontinuance ffrom the plantacon; it is thought meete that it shall take place and stande in force but two yeares, unless there be some good reason given for it; and then these shall have land only for the third yeare, provided that within the third yeare they come back again.' ''

minority in Lynn became the majority in Southampton. The New Englander was a secessionist when he needed to be; when conditions had changed, and affairs were moulded to his liking, such secession as that contemplated at the Hartford Convention was but a flash in the pan.

Turning to another colony, Connecticut was a very fertile ground for a fruitage of church quarrels and doubtless large numbers of compacts could be counted in the local history of that Colony. One removal. that of Connecticut settlers who formed in 1666 the town of Newark, New Jersey, will serve as an example which could probably be duplicated many times. The Colony went out as an organized church with its pastor, deacons, and records, and no sooner did they arrive than they began to make a compact which differs only in detail from the others which we have studied.16 This agreement was made at Branford, where twenty-three prospective pioneers appended their names to the document; after the settlers had founded Newark, forty more emigrants attested by their signatures their approval of the compact. Here church and state were to have the

<sup>16 &</sup>quot; Newark, New Jersey, 30 Oct. 1666.

<sup>[</sup>Deut. I, 13; Exod. XVIII, 21; Deut. XVII, 15; Jerem. XXXVI, 21.]

"1. That none shall be admitted freemen or free Burgesses within our town upon Passaic river, in the Province of New Jersey, but such planters as are members of some or other of the Congregational Churches, nor shall any but such be chosen to magistracy, or to carry on any part of civil judicature, or as deputies or assistants to have power to vote in establishing laws, and making or repealing them, or to any chief military trust or office; nor shall any but such church members have any such elections; though all others admitted to be planters, have right to their proper inheritances, and do and shall enjoy all other civil liberties and privileges according to all laws, orders, grants which are, or shall hereafter be made for this town.

<sup>&</sup>quot;2. We shall, with care and diligence, provide for the maintenance of the purity of religion professed in the Congregational Churches.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Whereunto subscribed the inhabitants from Branford — "

<sup>[</sup>Signed by 23 names.

<sup>24</sup> June 1667 — 40 more signatures.]

<sup>-</sup> Stearns's Historical Discourses, Relating to the First Presbyterian Church in Newark, p. 14, foot-note.

same membership and these members were to be lawmakers for both. Thus the New England tradition of constitution-making was transplanted to New Jersey soil. In Connecticut itself there is an existing covenant in the history of Wallingford, a covenant to all intents and purposes like those already referred to. A sort of executive committee of New Haven men had been entrusted with the arrangements for the proposed town of Wallingford. In their covenant, the Wallingford settlers state that "We doe engage ourselves to submit to such settlement and civil order as the said committee shall direct among us, either by themselves, or some others as a committee by them appointed upon the place, untill the said village come to be an orderly establishment." This covenant of 1669-1670 rounds out a half century of practical constitution-making, brought about by the distance of the plantations from the home government in England — a

[38 signatures.]

pp. 24, 25; also Davis's History of Wallingford, Connecticut, pp. 77, 78.

Covenant of Wallingford, Conn.

<sup>&</sup>quot;We whose names are underwritten, being accepted by the Committee of New Haven, for ye intended Village as planters, and desiring that the worship and ordinances of God may in due time, be set up, and encouraged among us, as the main concernment of a Christian people, doe sincerely and in the fear of God, promise and engage ourselves that we shall not neither directly nor indirectly, do anything to hinder or obstruct any good means that shall be used by the said committee, or others intrusted by them, to promote the premises by securing an Godly and able ministry among us to dispense to us the word of God and when such ministry, or a Church of Christ shall be settled among us, we engage by no means to disturb the same in their choice of a minister or ministers or other ch'h officers, or in, any other of their ch'h rights, liberties, or administrations, nor shall refuse or withdraw due maintenance from such minister or ministry, and farther we doe engage ourselves peaceably to submit to such settlement and civil order as the said committee shall direct among us either by themselves, or some others as a committee by them appointed, upon the places, untill the said village come to be an orderly establishment within itself, and lastly we doe engage personally to settle upon the place, by May next, come twelvemonth, if God's providence inevitably hinder not, and to observe and perform all and every the other articles agreed upon".

situation which was perpetuated in colonial development by the expansion of settlement outward from the seats of government in the Colonies themselves. In other words, practical needs pressing upon pioneers in the extension of a frontier which knew no local laws, drove the settler to the necessity of shaping his own laws in combination with his neighbor's that some sort of common life might result. The church covenant became adapted to use as a civil compact; the parish split off from the mother church, became in time itself a church and at the same time, or shortly after, a self-governing town. The dissentient minority became the over-bearing majority in their new home, and the process of compact-making and compact-breaking and compact-remaking became successive stages in the extension of the frontier.

So far we have concerned ourselves with the town compact, but within these same Colonies one finds at the same time the compact on a larger plan. The four Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, finding themselves in 1643 in danger from Indian hostility, bound themselves together in Articles of Confederation, which, as has been stated before, were very possibly modelled upon the Union of Utrecht of 1579.18

In the preamble <sup>19</sup> the delegates state their reasons for coming to America, and for their association under this agreement. In the second paragraph, "The said United Colonies for themselves and their posterities do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defense, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel and for their own mutual safety and welfare." In paragraph three, it is expressly stipulated

<sup>18</sup> See Prof. L. M. Salmon's article on The Union of Utrecht in the Report of the American Historical Association for 1893, pp. 137-148.

<sup>19</sup> Text in American History Leaflets, No. 7, pp. 3-10.

that each member of the Confederacy retain its own jurisdictional and governmental rights, their confederation to be only for stipulated purposes.

Eight commissioners, two from each colony, acted at vearly meetings upon matters of common concern to their constituents. The commissioners had power to "form and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature . . . . for preservation of peace among themselves, for preventing . . . occasion of war or differences with themselves, and . . . . the free and speedy passage of justice in their jurisdiction." If any of the Colonies entering into the Confederation were to break the Articles, such breach of agreement was to be investigated by the commissioners of the other parties to the contract in order that both "peace and this present Confederation may be entirely preserved without violation". Thus secession was not contemplated as a probability but arbitration and compromise were apparently to be invoked in case of need. The Confederation was intended to be perpetual and both it and "the articles and agreements" entered into under its sanction were to be agreed upon by the general courts of the colonial members. Upon one occasion at least, Massachusetts refused to obey the commands of the commissioners.20 and was not compelled to do so by the other members of the Confederation.

Under a new dispensation of imperial authority the New England Confederation went down into its grave in 1689, but the memory of its character and its effectiveness remained as an inheritance to succeeding generations. There is little doubt that Benjamin Franklin made use of it when in 1775 he presented to the Continental Congress his plans for a similar confederation among the Colonies

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Plymouth Colony Records, Vol. X, p. 101, cited in American History Leaflets, No. 7, p. 10, footnote.

revolting from Great Britain.21 His plan formed a starting point for debate and after months of compromise amendment and discussion, there finally emerged the Articles of Confederation under which the United States lived from 1781 to 1789. It is largely because they contain vestiges of the New England Confederation that the Articles of Confederation are referred to in this paper. These Articles of 1781 are the best exemplification that we have in our history of the actual working out on a large scale of the compact theory. The compact idea is embedded in nearly every article of this early constitution, which served for a few years to hold together an apparently disintegrating United States. When, in 1787, representatives of these thirteen separate sovereignties (for so they conceived themselves to be) met to remedy the defects of the old Articles, they brought to their task both practical experience and philosophical theory. Used, as they had become, to making compacts for both the small and the large units of government, it is not surprising that the makers of the Constitution of 1787 were not clear in their own minds as to the nature of the government which they were producing. It is not necessary here to discuss the survival of the compact theory nor its change and adaptation to suit changing ideals which one might find in the writings of Southern statesmen up to 1861. Suffice it to say that it was not strange that men should see in the new Constitution,22 resting upon tradition as it did and exemplifying as it must the culmination of colonial legislation, the inherent features of the oldtime compact. Moreover, the plantation covenant as we have seen it, had not been laid aside with the formation of the Federal Constitution. Colonies continued to make

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The writer has in preparation an article which she believes will make the point indubitable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The culmination of Southern theory and practice may be found in the Constitution of the Confederate States, with which this paper does not concern itself.

use of it as they moved out into the wilderness, just as the Pilgrims and Puritans had done in the 17th century. Such a colony was one made up of Connecticut settlers, who in 1787, in founding the town of Kirkland, New York, bound themselves together by a compact which begins as follows:

"Whereas, Capt. Moses Foot, and some others, formerly of ve State of Connecticut, did last fall find a good and convenient place for a large settlement in Coxeborough, County of Montgomery, State of New York; and whereas the said Foot did contract with John Lansing, Jun., of Albany, in ye State aforesaid, for a large tract of land, sufficient for a considerable number of inhabitants. and did invite his acquaintances and others to join with him in the purchase and settlement of said land: Therefore, we, whose names are underwritten, being about to take the benefit of said invitation, for our future safety and benefit with regard to buying said land, and other internal business amongst ourselves, do by these presents covenant with each other, jointly and severally, that we will be under the following rules, regulations, or bylaws." 28 In this case the covenant is much more evidently a business arrangement than was the case with the earlier compacts. The economic side stands out much more plainly than the religious side or the civil aspect, but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Kirkland (New York) Compact, 1787.—See Jones's Annals of Oneida County, pp. 170, 171.

After the preamble given above, the document proceeds as follows:

<sup>&</sup>quot;We will, as soon as may be, meet and choose a Secretary, whose business it shall be to record all our public papers, votes, &c., and said record shall be binding on us all; said Secretary must be sworn to the faithful discharge of his trust, and serve for one year.

<sup>&</sup>quot;2. Any seven persons shall have liberty to call the proprietors or company together, and the Secretary shall, by their application, issue out a warrant for a meeting at least four days before said meeting.

<sup>&</sup>quot;3. Three copies of said warrant, set up in the most public places of our settlement, shall be deemed a sufficient warning while we live as compact as at present; and every article of business to be done shall be inserted in said warrants, that the members may have time to consider of them, and be

the Kirkland Colonists proceed to establish their church and regulate their civil affairs under its sanction, and all the first settlers signed an agreement that they would abide by its terms.<sup>24</sup>

Nearly twenty years after the Kirkland Colony had established itself on the edge of civilization another similar group of New England settlers betook themselves to a newer frontier in Ohio. In 1804 at East Granville, Massachusetts, was drawn up a preliminary agreement, much like the Kirkland Compact. Under its terms the subscribers were to remove to Granville in Ohio. They organized their Congregational Church in their old home and transplanted it - pastor, deacons and members - to their new settlement. After a preamble, this preliminary agreement states: "we do hereby agree to form ourselves into an association or Company for that purpose and do severally promise and engage (in consideration of the mutual advantage which we expect to receive by this association) to & with each other, and to & with each individual that shall belong to this association or company, that we will be bound by & faithfully fulfill all & every rule, regulation, or by-law, that shall be regularly voted or entered into by the said association or company".

The constitution adopted by the Colony six months later bears a close resemblance to the earlier agreements in the matter of distribution of lands, admission of future members into the Colony, and the reservation of school

in some manner prepared to give their opinion, and it shall not be lawful to act on any business not mentioned in the warrants.

<sup>&</sup>quot;4. In all matters of debate, the moderator shall allow every member to have his turn to speak, provided he does it in an orderly manner.

<sup>&</sup>quot;5. No votes shall be recorded, or be binding, except two-thirds of the members are of a mind.

<sup>&</sup>quot;6. Upon the consideration of Capt. Foot's taking us in as partners with him, we agree to pay him the account he has kept in cash in procuring said land, that is, labor for his time, and cash to the amount of what he has expended."

<sup>24</sup> See Mathews's Expansion of New England, p. 159 and note.

and church lands.<sup>25</sup> "When they arrived at the site of their proposed town they took their oxen out of harness and first of all had a sermon preached by the pastor". The scene is marvelously like that of the planting of Plymouth or Hartford, nearly two hundred years before. The transplanted church, the transplanted town, the compact idea had stubbornly survived two centuries of development and change.

<sup>25</sup> The whole compact reads as follows: Granville (Ohio) Colony

Preliminary agreement. Dated at East Granville, Massachusetts, 3 April, 1804.

"We the subscribers being desirous of making a purchase of Newlands in the State of Ohio for settlement, have thought best to form ourselves into an association or Company for the purpose of sending agents into said State of Ohio, to explore said lands in such way & manner as will enable them to obtain correct information as to the quality & situation of said lands, also the price, terms of payment, the different tracts they may be had at, & title to the same.

"And in order that we may (at a small expense to each individual of us) obtain such information, we do hereby agree to form ourselves into an association or Company for that purpose & do severally promise & engage (in consideration of the mutual advantage which we expect to receive by this association) to & with each other to & with each individual that shall belong to this association or company, that we will be bound by & will faithfully fulfill all & every rule, regulation, or by-law, that shall be regularly voted or entered into by the said association or company & particularly we severally promise to pay into the treasurer that shall be appointed by us the sum of eight dollars for the said purpose of paying such agents we may send to explore the said lands, & we do also agree each one of us for ourselves that if we shall fail of paying the said sum of eight dollars by the time that shall be first (fixed) or for said payment by the said association or of paying the assessment of taxes made by us when regularly convened, we shall severally agree to forfeit and do (in case of such failure) hereby relinquish all right and benefit of this association or exploring, & we do also agree each one of us for himself that we will abide by and be bound to fulfill the following rules and regulations, & all others that the said association shall enter into.

"1st. We do agree that no tax or assessment shall be binding on us unless one-half of the subscribers shall be present at the meeting which shall vote the same, but any other business shall bind us when voted by the major part of the members present at any meeting regularly warned.

"2nd. We further agree that unless there should be thirty subscribers to this agreement it shall not be binding on any of us, — but when over that number has subscribed, — we are holden by all & every article above written.

Still another Ohio colony, that of Oberlin, is even more akin to the seventeenth century ideal than the last two we have studied. The preamble of the Oberlin Covenant, under which in 1833, the first colony was formed, reads as follows:

"Lamenting the degeneracy of the Church and the deplorable condition of our perishing world, and ardently desirous of bringing both under the entire influence of the blessed Gospel of peace; and viewing with peculiar interest the influence which the valley of the Mississippi

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this day & year above written."

(Signed by 35 names.

44 more were added in August.)

- Bushnell's History of Granville, pp. 25, 26.

Constitution, adopted by the colony 21 September, 1804:

"The preamble recognizes the fact and intent of the agreement already made, described the location of the land for which they were negotiating, and provided for the purchase of such other lands as may afterwards be judged best by the company.

"Article first binds each subscriber to take of the company as many acres as he annexes to his name in subscribing, and stipulates that payment shall be in money, real estate to be appraised by disinterested persons, or by other men's obligations, secured either by mortgage on real estate or by responsible endorsers.

"Article second names a committee of trust, consisting of twelve members, who shall receive and give real estate on the part of the company.

"Article third provided for the admission of future members to the company.

"Article fourth provides for the distribution of the land after certain reservations are made. A town plat is reserved, which shall have as many building lots as there are one hundred acre parcels in the entire purchase; each one hundred acres to draw a building lot in the town. A school lot of one hundred acres and a "minister lot" of one hundred acres are also reserved. Further, all mill seats are reserved. The remaining lands of the purchase are then to be divided into one hundred acre lots. Two distributions of these lots are then provided for. At the first, the choice of village lots and farms is given to the highest bidder. The second division is for those who do not choose to bid for a choice, and is to be entrusted to a committee to be chosen by the proprietors whose interests are concerned. Actual settlement is required, either of the proprietor or some other acceptable person, under certain annually recurring penalties for failure."

(Signed by 101 names.)

- Summarized in Bushnell's History of Granville, pp. 31-33.

must exert over our nation and the nations of the earth; and having, as we trust, in answer to devout supplications, been guided by the counsel of the Lord; the undersigned covenant together under the name of the Oberlin Colony, subject to the following regulations, which may be amended by a concurrence of two thirds of the colonists." <sup>26</sup>

The Covenant itself is a curious mixture of religion, ethics, and hard common sense: they are to hold their property in common, regarding themselves only as stewards, that they "may have time and health for the Lord's service"; they pledge themselves to eat only plain and wholesome food; to give up tobacco, tea and coffee; to observe "plainness and durability in the construction of . . . houses, furniture, carriages", etc., and they eschew "all the world's expensive and unwholesome fashions of dress, particularly tight dressing and ornamental attire". Church and school and state were all to grow up together, and thus were conserved the three essential features of New England settlement.

Passing on to Michigan, one finds in the Vermont-

<sup>26</sup> The Oberlin Covenant, 1833, in Fairchild's Oberlin, pp. 25-27.

<sup>27</sup> The compact follows:

<sup>&</sup>quot;1. Providence permitting, we engage as soon as practicable to remove to the Oberlin Colony, in Russia, Lorain County, Ohio, and there to fix our residence, for the express purpose of glorifying God in doing good to men to the extent of our ability.

<sup>&</sup>quot;2. We will hold and manage our estates personally, but pledge as perfect a community of interest as though we held a community of property.

<sup>&</sup>quot;3. We will hold in possession no more property than we believe we can profitably manage for God, as His faithful stewards.

<sup>&</sup>quot;4. We will, by industry, economy, and Christian self-denial, obtain as much as we can, above our necessary personal or family expenses, and faithfully appropriate the same for the spread of the Gospel.

<sup>&</sup>quot;5. That we may have time and health for the Lord's service, we will eat only plain and wholesome food, renouncing all bad habits, and especially smoking and chewing of Tobacco, unless it is necessary as a medicine, and deny ourselves all strong and unnecessary drinks, even tea and coffee, as far as practicable, and everything expensive, that is simply calculated to gratify the palate.

<sup>&</sup>quot;6. That we may add to our time and health money for the service

#### 100 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

ville Compact of March 27, 1836, the same ideals worked out in the same fashion. The preamble reads:

"Whereas, the enjoyment of the ordinances and institutions of the Gospel is in a great measure unknown in many parts of the Western country; and

"Whereas, We believe that a pious and devoted emigration is to be one of the most efficient means, in the hands of God, in removing the moral darkness which hangs over a great portion of the valley of the Mississippi; and

"Whereas, We believe that a removal to the West, may be a means of promoting our temporal interest, and we trust be made subservient to the advancement of Christ's kingdom,

"We do therefore form ourselves into an association or colony, with the design of removing into some part of the Western country which shall hereafter be designated, and agree to bind ourselves to observe the following rules".

Here, as in Oberlin, the religious and ethical life is to of the Lord, we will renounce all the world's expensive and unwholesome fashions of dress, particularly tight dressing and ornamental attire.

"7. And yet more to increase our means of serving Him who bought us with His blood, we will observe plainness and durability in the construction of our houses, furniture, carriages, and all that appertains to us.

"8. We will strive continually to show that we, as the body of Christ, are members one of another, and will, while living, provide for the widows, orphans, and families of the sick and needy, as for ourselves.

"9. We will take special pains to educate all our children thoroughly and to train them up, in body, intellect and heart, for the service of the Lord.

"10. We will feel that the interests of the Oberlin Institute are identified with ours, and do what we can to extend its influence to our fallen race.

"11. We will make special efforts to sustain the institutions of the Gospel at home and among our neighbors.

"12. We will strive to maintain deep-toned and elevated personal piety to 'provoke each other to love and good works', to live together in all things as brethren, and to glorify God in our bodies and spirits, which are His.

"In testimony of our fixed purpose thus to do, in reliance on Divine grace, we hereunto affix our names."

#### MAYFLOWER COMPACT AND ITS DESCENDANTS 101

be constructed on the same basis as the civil and social life, nor is the economic side forgotten.<sup>28</sup>

Thus in four typical New England towns, settled between 1787 and 1836, the compact idea conditions community life. In each of these cases the settlement was made in the wilderness where small local units of government had not been formed and the practical mind of the pioneer, conservative even under new conditions, turned back to tradition for its pattern.

As one passes on into regions where New Englanders, settlers from the Middle States, and those from the South put their political ideas into a common melting-pot, another form of association finds expression. As the tide of emigration surged out into the region where public lands had either not been brought into the market at all, or where regulation of claims to marketable land was inadequate, one finds the formation of "squatters' unions" and "claims clubs". Whereas the New England settlers had utilized the compact as a means of constructing social order, of making a community which should be a unit and yet fit easily into a larger scheme of society (such as the county or the State), the squatters' unions and the claims clubs, (and later the vigilance committees), partake more obviously of the "regulator" movement of Scotch-Irish settlers. In making a complete study of the compact it would in any case be necessary to follow these emigrants arrived from Scotland by way of Northern Ireland, down the valleys and rivers of the Allegheny region out into the wide stretches of Tennessee and Kentucky, where their covenanting inheritance found the soil ready for really large conceptions of constitution-building on a State scale.29 But in the midst of their endeavors to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> See the Vermontville (Michigan) Compact, 27 March, 1836, in Rules and Regulations of Union Colony, published in Michigan Pioneer Society Collections, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 204-206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See Turner's State-making in Revolutionary Period in the American Historical Review, Vol. I, pp. 70, 251; Alden's New Governments West of

build up a "State of Franklin," they were prone to take up the cudgels in defense of their rights as individuals as against the unequal pressure of existing government — a very different attitude from the colony-building habit of the New Englander. The common element in the two ideas was that of association, and when it came to defending his right to his wilderness tract in the Mississippi Valley against all comers, the New Englander ranged himself for that purpose shoulder to shoulder with his Scotch-Irish neighbor. A good illustration of this combination is to be found in the articles of the "Squatters' Union" of Lake County, Indiana, drafted July 4, 1836, which read as follows:

"Preamble. Whereas the settlers upon the public lands in this county, not having any certain prospect of having their rights and claims secured to them by a preemption law of Congress, and feeling the strong present necessity of their becoming united in such a manner as to guard against speculation upon our rights, have met and united together to maintain and support each other. . .

"Article 1. Resolved, that every person who bears all the dangers and difficulties of settling a new and unimproved country is justly entitled to the privilege heretofore extended to settlers by Congress to purchase and sell their land at a dollar and a quarter an acre.

"Article 2. Resolved, that if Congress should neglect or refuse to pass a law before the land on which we live is offered for sale, which shall secure to us our rights, we will hereafter adopt such measures as may be necessary effectually to secure each other in our just claims.

"Article 13. Resolved, that we will each use our endeavors to advance the rapid settlement of the country by inviting our friends and acquaintances to join us under

the Allegheny Mountains Before 1780 in University of Wisconsin Bulletins, Vol. II, passim; also Johnson's Genesis of Popular Sovereignty in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. III, p. 3.

the full assurance that we shall now obtain our rights, and that it is now perfectly as safe to go on improving the public land as though we already had our titles from government." <sup>30</sup>

The Claim Clubs of Iowa clearly illustrate the same phase.<sup>31</sup> Still another form, adapted to different conditions, may be found in the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851, whose constitution begins thus:

"Whereas it has become apparent to the Citizens of San Francisco that there is no security for life and property either under the regulations of Society as it at present exists or under the laws as now administered—therefore, the citizens whose names are hereunto attached do unite themselves into an association for the maintenance of the peace and good order of Society and the preservation of the lives and property of the Citizens of San Francisco and do bind ourselves each unto the other to do and perform every lawful act for the maintenance of law and order and to sustain the laws when faithfully and properly administered". 32

Here again one finds the absence of organized and effective government resulting in the union of a body of citizens along the lines of the compact idea. The following clause illustrates the point:

"Fourth — that, when the Committee have assembled for action the decision of a majority present shall be binding upon the whole Committee and that those members of the Committee whose names are hereunto attached

<sup>30</sup> See Ball's History of Lake County (Indiana), p. 277.

<sup>31</sup> See Macy's Institutional Beginnings in a Western State in Johns Hopkins University Studies, 2nd Series, No. 7. Here in an appendix is the constitution of the Claim Club of Johnson County, Iowa, adopted March 9, 1839. See Shambaugh's Frontier Land Clubs or Claim Associations in Report of the American Historical Association, 1900, Vol. I, pp. 67-84; in Iowa Historical Record, Vol. IX, pp. 414-420; and in History of the Constitutions of Iowa, pp. 30-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> See Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851 in the Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, Vol. I, No. 7, p. 7.

do pledge their honor and hereby bind themselves to defend and sustain each other in carrying out the determined action of this Committee at the hazard of their lives and their fortunes." Thus the compact becomes an accompaniment of settlement and of organized social life from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

One last word as to the vestiges of the compact idea. The "Immigration Companies", which sent bodies of settlers to Kansas from 1854 to 1858, illustrate anew the old necessity of a colony's moving as a united body into a community where law there was none. The settlement of Lawrence, Kansas, is an unexceptionally clear repetition of the old New England method of transplanting a church, a school, and a town. Many of the New England towns of Kansas are of this same general character, and it is probable that many of the colonies sent out by various emigration companies between 1854 and 1858 formed associations similar to the Oberlin and Vermontville agreements.

On the Pacific Coast, the first settlers of Pasadena, California, followed a scheme of association outlined in Indianapolis in May, 1873. A number of families in Indianapolis, desirous of settling in Southern California, formed a company and sent out a committee to choose land, exactly as had those New England Colonies which had formed a continuous procession since 1620 from the Atlantic seaboard to the newest frontiers. In this California scheme, the articles of association are clearly of a business nature, but the purchases and allotment of lands under this agreement are extraordinarily like those of Springfield or Oberlin or any other of the Colonies we have studied. But the compact idea has become most important, and the religious idea appears not at all. The California scheme was an association for mutual benefit in

<sup>38</sup> Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851 in the Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, Vol. I, No. 7, p. 8.

#### MAYFLOWER COMPACT AND ITS DESCENDANTS 105

settling at a distance under unknown economic conditions.34

From this incomplete study certain conclusions emerge: first, that so far as New England influence goes, government by compact in our history was evolved from practical necessities, not from theoretical speculation. Second, that its beginnings were rooted in the Separatist church covenant. Third, that in these town compacts rather than in the pages of Locke and Rousseau, may be found the germ of the compact on a larger scale, as in the Articles of Confederation. Fourth, that as it accompanied and furthered settlement, it changed its character to suit changing frontier conditions. Yet from 1620 to 1875, a period of over two centuries and a half, the compact theory found expression in promotion and accompaniment of advancing settlement. Only vestiges of the original compact idea can be found at the end, yet the survival of the Mayflower Compact in its last descendants is, perhaps, as large as the survival of the characteristics of any ancestor one may find 250 years back in his history, in, say, the eleventh generation. The church covenant and town compact have done their work in giving to our history one aspect of the unique character which it possesses. The last and most important conclusion to be drawn is the necessity for a long and detailed study of the church covenant and the town compact. This study should probably proceed along three main lines: first, the history of the compact among settlers from New England, wher-

<sup>84</sup> See Reid's History of Pasadena (California), pp. 106-108.

The original colony which founded Worthington, Minnesota, went out from Cleveland and Toledo, Ohio. They were sent out about 1870, by a "colony company", and "upon payment of \$5.00 each member of the company received a certificate certifying that he or she was a member of the Worthington, or as it was then called the Okabena colony, and was entitled to certain privileges".—Extract from a letter of C. L. Mann, for some time City Clerk of Worthington.

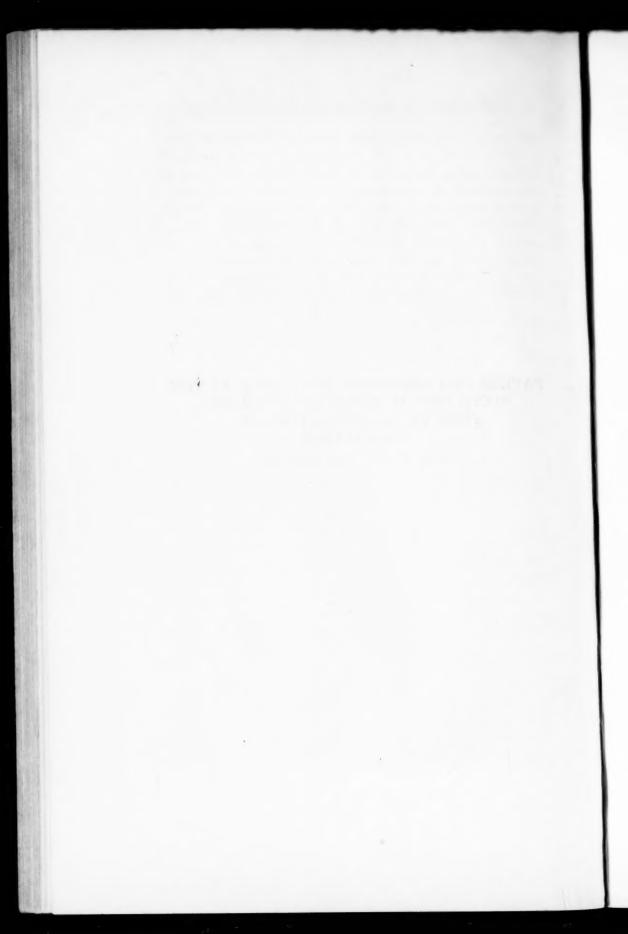
There has been rumor of a compact in this colony, but the rumor has not been substantiated.

#### 106 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

ever they may be found; second, among settlers from the southern seaboard, bringing in the Declaration of Independence, the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, and the Constitution of the Confederate States; third, among the Scotch-Irish in all their wanderings. When these detailed studies have been made, an interpretation which should combine all these minute investigations ought to follow. When this work shall have been done our knowledge of certain aspects of our politics, our Constitution, and our expansion will appear immensely widened and clarified.

# PAPERS AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(Omaha, Nebraska, May 8, 9, 10, 1913)



## ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE ACQUISITION OF LOUISIANA

### By Louis Pelzer

Various view-points in the study of the Louisiana Purchase have yielded a literature almost vast in extent. In the lives of Jefferson, Jay, Livingston, and Monroe, the personal factors have been set forth; Schouler, von Holst, and the debates entombed in the Annals of Congress present the constitutional aspects; Barbé-Marbois has written the account from the French side; Henry Adams's explorations of the foreign archives have reënacted the diplomatic scenes of the event, while Mr. Roosevelt has recited the part played by the plain settler folk of the West in the Americanization and purchase of the province.

Economic factors in this event — those factors generated from units of population, trade, agriculture, commerce, and navigation — have received less attention from historians. The economic activities of thousands of unnumbered, unnamed, plain people were influential, but less tangible than were those of the great actors in the event. Their names are not found in foreign archives, in treaties, or on monuments. The boatmen of the Ohio, the Mississippi navigators, the Kentucky farmers and distillers, and the lead miners of Missouri have a history of achievement, but it is one unadorned by official position, military conquests, or diplomatic triumphs.

Twenty years — the period from 1783 to 1803 — witnessed the origin and development of those economic conditions which helped to win the province for the United States. But even before the Treaty of Paris of 1783 the population from the East had crept through the Alleghany

passes into the valleys of the Holston, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee. Seed-plots of settlement at Boonesborough, on the Watauga, at Nashborough, and other places gave promise, even before the close of the Revolutionary War, of growth, expansion, and possibly pressure upon any foreign domains to the westward.

Estimates for the population of Kentucky before 1783 are various. Winsor suggests the figure 600 for the year 1777; ¹ a letter in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* computed the number of white men for 1779 at 176; ² for 1783 Winsor estimates the population at 12,000, ³ though John Filson, Kentucky's first historian, believed that in that year the fifty-two posts of Kentucky contained a population of 30,000. ⁴ The best blood from the Eastern States was coming to Kentucky down the Ohio in flatboats or over the Wilderness Road. ⁵ Hunters, explorers, survey-

<sup>1</sup> Winsor's The Westward Movement, p. 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Quoted in McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Vol. I, p. 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Winsor's The Westward Movement, p. 178; Monette in his History of the Valley of the Mississippi, Vol. II, p. 143 says: "The population of all the settlements, [of Kentucky] up to the year 1783, exceeded twelve thousand souls. This number was greatly augmented by the daily arrivals during the succeeding summer; and the spring of 1784 found the entire number increased to more than twenty thousand souls."

<sup>4&</sup>quot;We may conclude that Kentucke contains, at present, [1784] upwards of thirty thousand souls: so amazingly rapid has been the settlement in a few years. Numbers are daily arriving, and multitudes expected this Fall; which gives a well grounded expectation that the country will be exceedingly populous in a short time. The inhabitants, at present, have not extraordinary good houses, as usual in a newly settled country."—Filson's The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucke, pp. 28, 29.

This exceedingly rare volume which is the first history of Kentucky and the first published volume concerning the history of any considerable area west of the Alleghanies was printed by James Adams at Philadelphia in 1784. It contains an introductory note (May 12, 1784) signed by Daniel Boone, Levi Todd, and James Harrod who pronounce it "an exceeding good performance". A copy of the book is in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

<sup>5</sup> Speed's The Wilderness Road (Filson Club Publications), Vol. II, pp. 42-44.

ors, speculators, farmers, and backwoodsmen did not, however, lend themselves to easy or correct enumerations.

During the Revolutionary War the question of securing the navigation of the Mississippi had assumed commanding importance. American ministers had argued the subject at the Spanish court, the Continental Congress had considered the matter again and again, and long and exhaustive discussions had engrossed the deliberations of the American peace commissioners at Paris in 1781-1782. In the Treaty of Paris Article VIII had finally stipulated that the navigation of the Mississippi River from the source to the ocean "shall forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States."

Spain by the same treaty was granted the parallel 31° for a northern boundary for West Florida. Thus, whereas the United States and Great Britain had assured to each other the free navigation of the Mississippi, Spain secured the control of both banks of the river below the parallel 31°. These conflicting provisions gave promise of a long contest between the United States and the kingdom of Spain.

"I grant", wrote Filson in 1784, "it will be absurd to expect a free navigation of the Mississippi whilst the Spaniards are in possession of New Orleans. . . They may perhaps trade with us upon their own terms, while they think it consistent with their interest, but no friendship in trade exists when interest expires; therefore,

<sup>6 &</sup>quot;Perhaps from ten to twenty thousand people a year came into Kentucky during the period immediately succeeding the close of the Revolution; but the net gain to the population was much less, because there was always a smaller, but almost equally steady, counterflow of men who, having failed as pioneers were struggling wearily back to their deserted eastern homes." — Roosevelt's The Winning of the West (Standard Library Edition), Vol. III, pp. 15, 16.

<sup>7</sup> Wharton's Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution, Vol. VI, pp. 96-99.

when the western country becomes populous and ripe for trade, sound policy tells us that the Floridas must be ours too. According to the articles of the Definitive Treaty, we are to have a free and unmolested navigation of the Mississippi; but experience teaches mankind that treaties are not always to be depended on, the most solemn being broken. Hence we learn that no one should put much faith in any state; and the trade and commerce of the Mississippi River cannot be so well secured in any other positions as our own."

The streams of population to the region south of the Ohio widened and quickened. Numbered by thousands every year, the immigrants poured through the Cumberland Gap or floated down the Ohio to be stranded on the south banks of that stream. "In 1783, 1784, and 1785," wrote Imlay, "[a] great part of the country was surveyed and patented, and the people in the interior settlements pursued their business in as much quiet and safety as they could have done in any part of Europe. Court-houses were built in the different countries, and roads were opened for carriages, which seven years before had not been seen in the country. The only roads hitherto were for single horses."

As Filson had declared the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers to be the key to the northern posts of the western continent, of so others began to regard Kentucky as the keystone of the western settlements. By 1785 personal property had accumulated, real estate was bought and sold, towns had been laid out, mills and factories were in operation, and domestic stock of all kinds was multiply-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Filson's The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucke, pp. 47, 48.

<sup>9</sup> Imlay's A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America, p. 45.

<sup>10</sup> Filson's The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucke, p. 39.

ing.11 The importance of the Mississippi as an outlet for the surplus salt, beef, flour, apples, and distilled products of Kentucky became more and more apparent.

Spanish eyes too had already noted the expanding trade and population of the Ohio Valley. "When taking advantage of the free navigation of the river", wrote the Intendant Martin de Navarro at New Orleans in 1785, "they established a trade which was annually worth many millions of reals to them. We saw them do that with the pain of not being able to remedy it, although, on the other hand, we had the consolation of seeing that the inhabitant and the hunter thus succeeded in profiting from the fruit of their labors." 12

In the American settlements upon the Mississippi the Intendant counted upon new enemies who were regarding the situation and happiness of the Spanish with too great jealousy. "The intensity with which they are working to form a city and establish posts, and their immediate neighborhood to our posts of the Illinois [Ilineuses may be harmful to us some day, unless we shelter ourselves in time by promoting a numerous population in this province in order to observe and even to restrain their intentions." 18

Boundary matters had induced the Congress of the Confederation as early as July 21, 1785, to commission John Jay to negotiate a treaty with Spain. 14 The modifications of his original powers of full discretion show the influence of the insistent commercial demands of the West for the free navigation of the Mississippi from source to

<sup>11</sup> Monette's History of the Valley of the Mississippi, Vol. II, p. 145.

<sup>12</sup> From a political report translated in Robertson's Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States 1785-1807, Vol. I, pp. 237-261. The quotation is on page 244.

<sup>13</sup> From a political report translated in Robertson's Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States 1785-1807, Vol. I, pp. 237-261. The quotation is on page 247.

<sup>14</sup> Secret Journals of the Congress of the Confederation, (Foreign Affairs), Vol. III, pp. 570, 571.

mouth 15 as provided in the former treaty with Great Britain.

Jay's report (August 3, 1786) of his negotiations with the Spanish minister, Don Diego Gardoqui, was discouraging and his proposal to surrender or to forbear the use of the Mississippi for a period of twenty or twenty-five years occasioned a notable debate in Congress. Long discussions, the review of the diplomatic correspondence, committee reports, and roll calls resulted on August 30, 1786, in a defeat of Jay's proposal by a strictly sectional vote. Five States, some of whose citizens discerned commercial and political menace in the plan, voted against the proposal.

Meanwhile products from the Kentucky district had been descending the Kentucky, the Green, the Cumberland, the Ohio, and the Mississippi rivers and were hazarding Spanish confiscation, inspection, tolls, or duties at the posts of Natchez or New Orleans. Thomas Amis, an enterprising trader from North Carolina, had ventured down the Mississippi in May and June, 1786, with his cargo of Dutch ovens, pots, kettles, skillets, and flour. Arriving at Fort Natchez on June 6, he was refused permission to proceed farther down the river, and his goods were then confiscated for the use of the crown of Spain. 19

The story of this unfortunate trading venture at once aroused the Western settlements. The documents of the case were sent to Governor Richard Caswell of North Carolina; then submitted to the legislature which in turn instructed the North Carolina delegates to lay them be-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Secret Journals of the Congress of the Confederation, (Foreign Affairs), Vol. III, pp. 585, 586.

<sup>16</sup> Secret Journals of the Congress of the Confederation, (Foreign Affairs), Vol. IV, pp. 122, 123.

<sup>17</sup> Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Roosevelt's The Winning of the West (Standard Library Edition), Vol. III, p. 115.

<sup>19</sup> Secret Journals of the Congress of the Confederation, (Foreign Affairs), Vol. IV, pp. 325-327.

fore Congress. Then, too, the rumors that Congress had adopted Jay's proposal to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi for twenty or twenty-five years still further inflamed the Westerners.

Navigation, river-traffic, and the agricultural markets of the West were now in grave danger, according to an anonymous observer at the Falls of the Ohio who wrote on December 4, 1786: 20 "To give us the liberty of transporting our effects down the river to New Orleans, and then be subject to the Spanish laws and impositions, is an insult upon our understanding. We know by woeful experience that it is in their power, when once there, to take our produce at any price they please. Large quantities of flour, tobacco, meal, &c. have been taken there last summer, and mostly confiscated."

Pointing to the rapid immigration, the writer commented on the great productivity of the region. Flour and pork were selling at twelve shillings per hundred weight and beef in proportion; any quantities of corn could be purchased at nine pence per bushel. In a very few years, it was predicted, the rivers would "labour under immense weight of the produce of this rich and fertile country, and the Spanish ships be unable to convey it to market."

Another letter written in December of 1786 at the Falls of the Ohio <sup>21</sup> denounced the supposed treaty as "cruel, oppressive and unjust", and declared that it had astonished the whole Western country. It would be as well to be sold as bondsmen as to have the Spaniards share all the benefits of Western production and industry. "They wilt receive all the fruits, produce of this large, rich, and fertile country at their own prices, (which you may be assured will be very low) and therefore will be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Printed in the Secret Journals of the Congress of the Confederation, (Foreign Affairs), Vol. IV, pp. 320-323.

<sup>21</sup> Printed in the Secret Journals of the Congress of the Confederation, (Foreign Affairs), Vol. IV, pp. 315-317.

able to supply their own markets and all the markets of Europe on much lower terms than what the Americans possibly can."

Despite Spanish restrictions on trade and navigation, James Wilkinson, then a merchant of Lexington, Kentucky, set out on a trading voyage to the Spanish markets. Embarking in April, 1787, on the Kentucky River with a flotilla of flatboats loaded with ham, flour, bacon, butter, and tobacco, he floated down the Ohio. Descending the Mississippi, he passed the Spanish post at Natchez and on July 2 arrived at New Orleans. The cargo was soon disposed of and Wilkinson secured permission to ship down another cargo of Kentucky products. His return to Kentucky was an event, and he was looked upon as a deliverer who had made an outlet for the products stored in the barns and warehouses of Kentucky.<sup>22</sup>

The economic strength of the Kentucky district can be seen in the old files of *The Kentucke Gazette* for 1788.<sup>23</sup> Fifty thousand acres of land on the Tennessee, Cumberland, and Elk rivers are advertised for sale at low terms; <sup>24</sup> rewards are offered for runaway slaves; <sup>25</sup> timber and cleared lands are in the market; and there are items concerning salt works and strayed horses. The paper records in September, 1788, the arrival at Lexington of James Wilkinson's cargo of tobacco and a large assortment of cloth, powder, lead, woolens, linens, writing paper, and books.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Shepherd's Wilkinson and the Beginnings of the Spanish Conspiracy in the American Historical Review, Vol. IX, pp. 490-506; cf. Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. II, pp. 111-113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> This publication, established at Lexington by John and Fielding Bradford and first issued on August 11, 1787, was the first newspaper of Kentucky.

<sup>24</sup> The Kentucke Gazette, March 15, 1788.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> In The Kentucke Gazette for August 16, 1788, a reward is offered for "a negroe fellow named Isaac, he is small and pale coloured, hook nosed, has lost the toes off one of his feet, is very talkative plausible, and insinuating."

<sup>26</sup> The Kentucke Gazette, September 6, 1788.

Wilkinson at once began plans for another expedition to New Orleans. In the Kentucky region he bought up great quantities of tobacco, flour, and other food products. And for some time after 1789 it appears that most of the Ohio River trade was carried on in his name and that the influence of James Wilkinson obtained passports for dozens of American traders. Lands increased in value, tobacco prices rose from \$2.00 to \$9.50 per hundred weight. and the annual exports of flour to Louisiana ranged from ten to fifteen thousand barrels.27

Until the beginning of the year 1791 the duties on American goods shipped to New Orleans were fifteen per cent. Besides agricultural products, dry goods were secretly imported and sold at New Madrid, Natchez, and other points on the Mississippi. Although frequently evaded, the regulations required the boats to present a manifest of the cargo and to deliver the goods at New Orleans where the duties were collected. Under Governor Carondelet the duties were reduced to six per cent.28 And, although the river trade flourished, the exactions of

<sup>27</sup> From Daniel Clark's memoir on the commerce of Louisiana as written to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering and dated April 18, 1788. A part of the memoir is printed in the Annals of Congress, 1st Session, 10th Congress, Appendix, pp. 2731-2736, and also in Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. II, Appendix VI.

<sup>28 &</sup>quot;The quantity of different productions imported from the Ohio since the opening of that trade has varied considerably from year to year. In the beginning, tobacco was the principal export from Kentucky, and, at one period, from one thousand five hundred to two thousand hogsheads came down the Mississippi annually for three or four years; they, at the same time, exported a great quantity of butter, lard, and salt provisions. Within the last three years, (1795-1798) the exportation of tobacco has considerably diminished, and flour seems to take its place. Hemp has likewise been imported from thence in considerable quantities; was formerly re-shipped from hence to the Atlantic States, but what now comes is manufactured here. Cordage is likewise imported from Kentucky, where some rope-walks are set up; and, in future, it is to be presumed little or no hemp will be exported from New Orleans; for the encouragement of the manufactory here, that article is exempt from duty on importation." From Daniel Clark's memoir to Secretary Pickering as printed in part in the Annals of Congress, 1st Session, 10th Congress, Appendix, pp. 2731-2736.

#### 118 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Spanish officials and the loss of time due to their regulations kept alive the American demand for a free outlet to the ocean.

From Natchez Governor Manuel Gayoso de Lemos of that district noted with alarm the expanding population and the growing river trade of the Americans. Reporting on the political conditions of the province on July 5. 1792,29 he pointed out that Kentucky, the Cumberland district, and the Franklin region were settlements of great consideration whose well-being was impossible so long as the navigation of the Mississippi should not be free to To keep the Kentucky settlements quiet, he urged. it would seem necessary to grant this freedom in part to them, but not as a part of the United States. Secret negotiations should be begun with the Kentucky region to secure its separation from the Union, and then "to grant them mercantile advantages by means of the navigation of this river as far as New Orleans, where they would be permitted to have a factory with a consul at its head."

When Kentucky became a State on June 1, 1792, its population was about 100,000 <sup>30</sup> and its economic strength and activity had increased in proportion. Linen and woolen cloths, leather goods, and hats were manufactured. Blacksmithing, the manufacture of firearms, cabinetwork, carpentry, and joinery were some of the established trades. "They have erected", wrote Toulmin in 1792, "a paper mill, an oil mill, fulling mills, saw mills, and a great number of valuable grist mills. Laborers particularly tradesmen are exceedingly wanted here. No tradesman will work for less than fifty per cent. advance upon the Philadelphia price." <sup>31</sup>

Governor Carondelet's military report on Louisiana

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The translation of this report is printed in Robertson's Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States 1785-1807, Vol. I, pp. 271-289.

<sup>30</sup> Michaux's Travels to the West of the Alleghany Mountains as translated in Thwaites's Early Western Travels in Vol. III, cf. p. 226.

<sup>31</sup> Toulmin's Description of Kentucky, pp. 90, 100, 101.

and West Florida on November 24, 1794, 32 stated that the Americans were advancing with a rapidity which would soon force the Spanish to exchange the Mississippi boundary for that of the Missouri. This "prestigious and restless population", he continued, "was advancing and multiplying in the silence of peace and almost unknown", and at the same time was demanding the free navigation of the Mississippi. Their writings, speeches, and public papers all had as their object the navigation of the rivers flowing into the Gulf of Mexico and the control of the rich Missouri River fur trade.

"Every new settlement," continued the report, "when it reaches thirty thousand souls, forms a state, which is united to the United States, so far as regards mutual protection, but which governs itself and imposes its own laws. The wandering spirit and the ease, with which those people procure their sustenance and shelter, quickly form new settlements. A carbine and a little maize in a sack are enough for an American to wander about in the forests alone for a whole month. With his carbine, he kills the wild cattle and deer for food and defends himself from the savages. The maize dampened serves him in lieu of bread. With some tree trunks crossed one above another, in the shape of a square, he raises a house, and even a fort that is impregnable to the savages by crossing a story above the ground floor. The cold does not affright him. When a family tires of one location, it moves to another, and there it settles with the same ease. Thus in about eight years the settlement of Cumberland has been formed, which is now about to be created into a state."

A general revolution, warned the Governor, threatened Spain in America if such men should succeed in oc-

<sup>32</sup> The translation of this report is printed in Robertson's Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States 1785-1807, Vol. I, pp. 293-345; and in the American Historical Review, Vol. II, pp. 473-505.

cupying the shores of the Mississippi or the Missouri or in obtaining the free navigation of these waters. Such settlements might expand, set up an independent state which would in turn exert increasing pressure for a free, extensive, and lucrative commerce on the rivers.

Meanwhile Western commercial demands had helped to force diplomatic negotiations regarding the navigation of the Mississippi. Secretary of State Jefferson had presented elaborate arguments in favor of it; <sup>33</sup> long and tedious negotiations marked the special mission of William Carmichael and William Short to Madrid in 1793; the Western settlements were seethed in foreign intrigues from 1790-1795, and Thomas Pinckney was sent to Madrid to attempt once more to secure terms from Spain. On October 27, 1795, he signed with the Prince of Peace, the treaty of San Lorenzo el Real.<sup>34</sup>

Article IV of this treaty gave the free navigation of the Mississippi to the subjects of Spain and to the citizens of the United States. The last article of the treaty permitted the Americans "for the space of three years from this time, to deposite their merchandises and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence, without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores." In case Spain should discontinue this place of deposit she agreed to assign another on the banks of the Mississippi. Thus the Americans seemed to be the victors in a commercial contest waged for over a decade.

The half decade following this treaty was one of development of American trade down the Mississippi to the various Spanish posts. Products from the Northwest Territory, Kentucky, Tennessee, and even Pennsylvania were shipped down the river to be sold at the Spanish

<sup>33</sup> American State Papers, Foreign Affairs, Vol. I, pp. 252-257.

<sup>34</sup> American State Papers, Foreign Affairs, Vol. I, pp. 546-549.

capital or transferred then to ocean crafts bound for the West Indies or to the cities of the Atlantic seaboard.

Jealousy and suspicion, however, continued to mark the conduct and the disposition of the Spaniards and there were vexatious delays in the execution of the boundary provisions of the treaty of 1795. In May, 1797, a trader named McCluny from Pennsylvania had his cargo of three hundred or four hundred barrels of flour taken at Walnut Hills against his will and was compelled to accept payment at New Orleans at a lower price. Francis Baily, another trader, was forced to accept a commissary's certificate at Natchez which was subject to a discount of twelve per cent at the royal treasury at New Orleans. 35

Kentucky by the year 1800 had increased in population to 220.955; that of Tennessee was 105,602; 36 and that of the Northwest Territory was 45.365.37 Besides these regions western Pennsylvania and Virginia contributed to the commerce of the Western waters and to New Or-For the six months ending June 30, 1801, the Spanish customhouse register at Loftus' Heights showed the extent and variety of the exports from these settlements to New Orleans. Four hundred and fifty flatboats. twenty-six keels, two schooners, one brig, and seven pirogues transported 93,033 barrels of flour, 882 hogsheads of tobacco, 56,900 pounds of pig-lead, 57,692 pounds of bacon, 196,000 pounds of cordage, 680 barrels of pork, and 2,340 barrels of apples. Other articles ranged from whiskey and peach brandy to millstones and onions.38

It is safe to state that when Intendant Juan Buena-

<sup>35</sup> From a letter by Andrew Ellicott to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, dated June 4, 1797, and printed in the Annals of Congress, 1st Session, 10th Congress, pp. 2736-2738.

<sup>36</sup> A Century of Population Growth, p. 57.

<sup>37</sup> See returns for second census as reported by James Madison to President Jefferson.

<sup>38</sup> Monette's The Progress of Navigation and Commerce on the Waters of the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes, A. D. 1700-1846 in the Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, Vol. VII, pp. 479-523.

ventura Morales annulled the American right of deposit at New Orleans on October 16, 1802, 39 the population areas which sent their surplus products down the Mississippi to New Orleans contained a quarter of a million people. The economic force of such a population in its demands for free navigation was irresistible. "The Mississippi is to them every thing", said Madison. "It is the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac, and all the navigable rivers of the Atlantic States, formed into one stream. The produce exported through that channel last year amounted to one million six hundred and twenty-two thousand six hundred and seventy-two dollars from the districts of Kentucky and Mississippi only, and will probably be fifty per cent. more this year, (from the whole Western country, Kentucky alone has exported, for the first half of this year, five hundred and ninety-one thousand four hundred and thirty-two dollars in value) a great part of which is now, or shortly will be, afloat for New Orleans and consequently exposed to the effects of this extraordinary exercise of power. '' 40

Meanwhile American migration to Upper Louisiana had begun, and by 1795 was increasing in speed and volume. The Spanish officials were offering liberal inducements to Americans whose hostility to the English, it was believed, would bind them to the Spanish. Free and extensive land grants, their fertility, and their mineral riches drew thousands of Americans into the steady current of migration to what is now the Commonwealth of Missouri.<sup>41</sup>

In the year 1799 the twelve 42 settlements of Upper

<sup>39</sup> American State Papers, Foreign Affairs, Vol. II, p. 470.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Extract from a letter by Secretary of State James Madison to Charles Pinckney, Minister to Spain, dated November 27, 1802, and printed in the American State Papers, Foreign Affairs, Vol. II, p. 527.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> See the writer's The Spanish Land Grants of Upper Louisiana in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XI, pp. 3-37.

<sup>42</sup> St. Louis, Carondelet, St. Charles, St. Fernando, Marais des Liards,

Louisiana had a population of 6,028 which produced that year 88,349 bushels of wheat, 84,534 bushels of Indian corn, 170,000 pounds of lead, besides large quantities of tobacco, salt, horses, cattle, and furs. 43 Much of this production found its way down the river to New Orleans. In the old records of the Spanish land grants to the year 1801. American names exceed all others and show that the Americanization of Upper Louisiana was noiseless, bloodless, and unrelenting. Peaches and apples grew in the orchards planted by the American settlers; timber lands were cleared; sugar works were set up, and corn, potatoes. and vegetables were cultivated. Salt springs were seized upon and the aggressive Americans improved upon the primitive methods of mining and smelting lead. Mills, breweries, and distilleries were erected. Settlement, labor, property, and permanent homes — such were the successive steps in the Americanization of the province of Upper Louisiana.

Travelers have left descriptions of the Western trade. commerce, and navigation which were forcing an outlet at New Orleans. Pittsburgh, the key to the Western territory, contained in 1803 about 2,000 people and launched that spring three boats of 160-175 tons burden.44 These carried the produce of the surrounding farms to New Or-At Wheeling also, next to Pittsburgh the most important point for embarkation for Western traders and

Maramee, St. Andrews, Ste. Genevieve, New Bourbon, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, and Little Meadow.

43 American State Papers, Miscellaneous, Vol. I, p. 383. For statistics of production for 1796 see Houck's The Spanish Régime in Missouri, Vol. II, p. 143.

44 Harris's The Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Alleghany Mountains, pp. 40-43.

45 The first schooner built on the Ohio was the "Amity" of 120 tons burden. "It was built by John A. Tarrasçon, who had established a shipyard at Pittsburg. The schooner was completed in the spring of 1801, when she was freighted with flour and sent to New Orleans. From that port she sailed for the Island of St. Thomas in the West Indies. During the following summer the same enterprising man completed another larger vessel of emigrants, boat-building was extensively carried on and the agricultural products of the region were collected for the New Orleans trade.<sup>46</sup>

The fifteen year old settlement of Marietta was a place of industry and enterprise. Here Captain Jonathan Devol operated a flouring mill and in 1801 built the ship "Muskingum" and the brig "Eliza Greene". In 1803 the schooner "Indiana" of 100 tons, the brig "Marietta" of 130 tons, and a third vessel of 150 tons were launched. These crafts, collecting the surplus corn meal, cheese, and flour produced at Marietta and the other Ohio River settlements, rode the spring floods of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the markets of the Gulf.

Passing to the State of Tennessee the traveler found that cotton and other products were collected at Nashville and then transported by the river routes to New Or-

250 tons burden. This was the 'Pittsburg', which was likewise freighted with flour and sent to New Orleans. From that port the Pittsburg was despatched for Philadelphia, sailing three thousand miles to reach the commercial emporium of the state to which she belonged; from that port she sailed to Bordeaux in France; from which she returned freighted with wines, brandies and French manufacturers to Philadelphia.''—Monette's The Progress of Navigation and Commerce on the Waters of the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes, A. D. 1700-1846 in the Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, Vol. VII, pp. 479-523. The quotation is on pages 487, 488.

<sup>46</sup> Harris's The Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Alleghany Mountains, pp. 49, 50.

<sup>47</sup> Hildreth's History of a Voyage from Marietta to New Orleans, in 1805 in The American Pioneer, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 89-105; Harris's The Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Alleghany Mountains, pp. 123, 140.

48 "The second week after our arrival, in consequence of three or four rainy days, the water in the Ohio rose fifteen feet, and gave opportunity for several vessels, which were waiting for a flood, to set sail. Accordingly on May 4th [1803] the schooner 'Dorcas and Sally,' of 70 tons, built at Wheeling and rigged at Marietta, dropped down the river. The following day there passed down the schooner 'Amity,' of 103 tons, from Pittsburg, and the ship 'Pittsburg', of 275 tons burden, from the same place, laden with seventeen hundred barrels of flour, with the rest of her cargo in flat-bottomed boats. In the evening the brig 'Mary Avery,' of 130 tons, built at Marietta, set sail.' — Harris's The Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Alleghany Mountains, pp. 52, 53.

leans and from thence expedited to New York, Philadelphia, or even Europe.49 But it was the rich agricultural districts of Kentucky that sent a continuous and increasing current of trade to the Gulf. For the first half of the year 1802 the State exported 72,000 barrels of dried pork and 2,485 barrels of salt; brandy made from the immense crop of peaches was extensively exported as well as consumed: in the year 1802 the State exported 42,048 pounds of raw hemp besides 2,402 hundred weight of cables and various kinds of cordage.50

Lexington with about 3,000 people was the metropolis of the Western country in 1802. Ropewalks and tanyards were in operation and the products of its potteries and powder mills found their way to Lower Louisiana. The town of Washington carried on a brisk trade in corn with New Orleans: and at Mays Lick a salt-mine yielded saltpetre. In the first six months of 1802 the port of Louisville exported to Lower Louisiana 85,570 barrels of flour, two-thirds of which was regarded as having come from Kentucky. Other thriving agricultural and commercial centers of the State were Paris, Bardstown, Millersburg, Frankfort, and Springfield.51

"The freightage of a boat to convey the flour to Low Louisiana", describes a French traveler of the time, "costs about a hundred dollars. They contain from two hundred and fifty to three hundred barrels, and are navigated by five men, of whom the chief receives a hundred

<sup>49</sup> From the translation of Michaux's Travels to the West of the Alleghany Mountains in Thwaites's Early Western Travels, Vol. III, p. 252. François André Michaux's travels covered the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the upper Carolinas between the dates of September 24, 1801, and March 1, 1803. The first published account of the tour appeared in French in 1804.

<sup>50</sup> From the translation of Michaux's Travels to the West of the Alleghany Mountains in Thwaites's Early Western Travels, Vol. III, pp. 241-247.

<sup>51</sup> From the translation of Michaux's Travels to the West of the Alleghany Mountains in Thwaites's Early Western Travels, Vol. III, Chapters XIII, XIV, p. 240.

dollars for the voyage, and the others fifty each. They take, from Louisville, where nearly the whole embarkations are made, from thirty to thirty-five days to go to New Orleans. They reckon it four hundred and thirtyfive miles from Louisville to the embouchure of the Ohio. and about a thousand miles thence to New Orleans, which makes it, upon the whole, a passage of fourteen hundred and thirty-five miles; and these boats have to navigate upon the river a space of eight or nine hundred miles without meeting with any plantations. A part of the erew return to Lexinton [sic] by land, which is about eleven hundred miles, in forty or forty-five days. The journey is extremely unpleasant, and those who dread the fatigues of it return by sea. They embark at New Orleans for New York and Philadelphia, whence they return to Pittsburg, and thence go down the Ohio as far as Kentucky," 52

The commercial conquest of New Orleans by the Americans seemed to be nearly complete in 1802. Of the 268 vessels entering the Mississippi the great majority were American. In the same year there sailed from the Mississippi 158 American vessels with a total tonnage of 21,383; the 104 Spanish crafts carried 9,753 tons and three French schooners 105 tons. The value of the exports from Louisiana amounted to \$2,158,000.53

While Livingston and Monroe were bargaining with Talleyrand for the purchase of a right of deposit at New Orleans,<sup>54</sup> the French Prefect, Pierre Clement Laussat, was noting with alarm the expanding trade of the Ameri-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Quoted from the translation of Michaux's Travels to the West of the Alleghany Mountains in Thwaites's Early Western Travels, Vol. III, pp. 239, 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> These facts are taken from Jefferson's description of Louisiana as communicated to Congress on November 14, 1803, and printed in the *American State Papers*, *Miscellaneous*, Vol. I, pp. 344-356.

<sup>54</sup> At this point the following events in the history of the Louisiana Purchase may be recalled: (1) The retrocession of Louisiana by Spain to France in the treaty of San Ildefonso, October 1. 1800; (2) The annul-

cans at New Orleans whom he regarded as "the most dreaded rivals in the world" in point of commerce. "The Anglo-American flag eclipses by its number here those of France and Spain. In front of the city and along its quays, there are at this moment fifty-five Anglo-American ships to ten French." And, American boats from Kentucky and Tennessee were landing daily.55

"If", continues the Prefect, "New Orleans has been peopled and has acquired importance and capital, it is due neither to Spain nor to the Louisianans properly socalled. It is due to three hundred thousand planters who in twenty years have swarmed over the eastern plains of the Mississippi, and have cultivated them, and who have no other outlet than this river and no other port than New Orleans." 56

Thus in the twenty years ending in 1803 the islands of population in Kentucky, in Tennessee, along the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers expanded into commonwealths. Agriculture, manufacturing, trade, mining, and navigation exerted an ever-increasing pressure against the Spanish boundaries and upon the river mouths on the Gulf. It was this pressure which caused the ceaseless intriguing of the province of Louisiana against the Western settlements. Political and military reports from Spanish and French officials to their European governments sound many warnings against this irresistible advance. Referring to the rumors of the cession of the province, Prefect Laussat wrote to his government in July, 1803: "Do not deceive, yourself, Citizen Minister, this silliness is of vast

ment of the right of deposit at New Orleans, October 16, 1802; (3) The negotiations of Monroe and Livingston at Paris in April, 1803; (4) The signing of the treaty of cession, May 2, 1803.

55 From a letter by Laussat to Minister Duc Denis Decrés dated April 18, 1803, and translated in Robertson's Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States 1785-1807 Vol. II, pp. 29-37.

<sup>56</sup> Laussat to Decrés, April 18, 1803, in Robertson's Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States 1785-1807, Vol. II, pp. 29-37.

## 128 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

foulness. It has spread into the western states. 'If it is not true, it must become so,' they end by saying." 57

To the eastward this pressure induced the special diplomatic missions to Spain and France, and the records contain chapters of failure and of the highest triumphs. But the ultimate status of Louisiana had already been decided. "It was not the diplomats who decided its destiny, but the settlers of the Western States. The growth of the teeming folk who had crossed the Alleghanies and were building their rude, vigorous commonwealths in the northeastern portion of the Mississippi basin, decided the destiny of all the lands that were drained by that mighty river." These were the forces which in 1803 and 1804 caused the stars and stripes to replace the eagles of the Republic of France in the Province of Louisiana.

<sup>57</sup> Laussat to Decrés, dated July 18, 1803, and printed in Robertson's Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States 1785-1807, Vol. II, pp. 41-50. The quotation is found on p. 47.

<sup>58</sup> Roosevelt's The Winning of the West (Standard Library Edition), Vol. IV, p. 276.

# LOST LANDMARKS

## BY HENRY W. YATES

In order to discuss historical landmarks intelligently, it is necessary to ascertain the facts concerning them. When I undertook the preparation of this paper it did not occur to me that I would have to do more than consult the latest and best history of Nebraska to obtain all the information I desired. I knew that all of these histories contained something concerning the early period to which my search carried me, but I never had occasion to examine them closely. An examination of four histories and a number of papers, which have appeared from time to time in the proceedings of our State Historical Society, developed so many confused, conflicting, and manifestly erroneous statements that I was obliged to go farther and search whatever original documents were obtainable in the limited time at my disposal in order to present anything that would be at all satisfactory either to myself or to students of our local history who may follow me. What I have accomplished may be easily deemed an insignificant return for the expenditures of so much time and labor.

Some years ago I came in a business way into the possession of a public document which has been of much service to me. Perhaps others have knowledge of this document, but it is certainly not mentioned in any of our histories. This is the report of Mr. I. N. Nicollet, an eminent French scientist employed by our government to do certain work in the basin of the Mississippi River during the years 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> House Executive Documents, 28th Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 52, entitled Report of I. N. Nicollet, 1845, "Intended to illustrate a

In this work on the Missouri River, which was done in 1839, he was assisted by Lieutenant John C. Frémont of the United States Topographical Engineers. This was probably the first experience of Mr. Frémont in a line of work in which he subsequently became famous. It is stated that they reconnoitred the Missouri River with care for a distance of 1253 miles from its junction with the Mississippi as far as Fort Pierre Choteau.<sup>2</sup>

The interesting fact is shown in the map which goes with the report that as late as 1839 there was not an occupied trading post or place of white settlement of any character from Jo Robidou's post on the Blacksnake—the site of St. Joseph—to Fort Pierre, with the exception of Bellevue. It was not, however, the entirely unknown country which Lewis and Clark had explored thirty-five years before.

The French have proved themselves to be the most indomitable and successful of explorers and colonists among the savage tribes of North America. The Spaniards gained possession of Louisiana in 1763, but it was still the French traders and trappers who ascended the Missouri and its tributaries, penetrating into the interior of the country wherever their rude boats could carry them and giving names to every stream and plain. In this locality we have to remind us of them such names as Platte, Papillion, Bellevue, Mosquito, and Boyer. No attempt, however, was made by these brave men to found permanent settlements above the Osage River, and although a large and profitable trade had been prosecuted from St. Louis for fifty years, no trading posts with a

map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River while in Employ Under the Bureau of Corps of Topographical Engineers, Assisted in 1838, 1839, and 1840 by Lt. J. C. Fremont of the Corps of Topographical Engineers.''

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Nicollet's report, *House Executive Documents*, 28th Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 52, p. 107.

view to permanency were established until after the expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1804.

The changing course of the river has made it impossible to identify with precision many of the places at which this expedition landed. The rivers and creeks, however, are now just as they have always been, and these in connection with prominent bluffs enable us to fix with certainty many of the places they visited. After passing the Platte, they made a camp on the east bank of the river above Mosquito Creek, which must have been opposite the site of Bellevue. From this camp they sent messengers to the Indians known to be in the immediate vicinity inviting them to a conference at a named place higher up the river. After leaving this camp they stopped to examine some curious graves or mounds, which were doubtless on the site of Omaha and camped on the west bank upon "a high handsome prairie", which may be identified as the high land lying between Florence Lake and Cut Off or Carter Lake.

The following day they passed the mouth of the Boyer and eleven and one-fourth miles from there they reached the place which they had selected for the conference, which they called "the Council Bluff". This bluff must have been a conspicuous feature on the river well known to the Indians. On the return trip Lewis and Clark stopped there again and noted in their journal, that they were confirmed in their opinion that it would be an eligible location for a trading post. The site is described more in detail by Major Long in his report fifteen years afterwards. He said: "The Council Bluff, so called by Lewis and Clarke, . . . is a remarkable bank rising abruptly from the brink of the river, to an elevation of

<sup>3</sup> Thwaites's Lewis and Clark Journals, Vol. I, pp. 88, 89.

<sup>4</sup> Thwaites's Lewis and Clark Journals, Vol. I, p. 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Thwaites's Lewis and Clark Journals, Vol. I, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> Thwaites's Lewis and Clark Journals, Vol. V, p. 379.

about one hundred and fifty feet." From the top of this bank an extensive and almost level plateau sloped to the hills back of it which rose several hundred feet higher. The journals of both Lewis and Clark and Major Long and the map of Nicollet clearly and distinctly locate this point at the site of the present village of Fort Calhoun, sixteen miles by land above Omaha. It was, however, at one time claimed for the bluffs north of the present city of Council Bluffs, Iowa, and the name was given to Bellevue and subsequently to other places. For many years the true Council Bluff was completely forgotten.

The obscurity which has attended the Council Bluff of Lewis and Clark is nothing, however, compared to the doubts and uncertainty which have existed concerning the military post which once occupied that site. This post was established during the administration of President Monroe, and probably owing to the fact that John C. Calhoun was his Secretary of War the impression obtained that this fort was called after him, and for this reason the name was given to the village when it was organized. All our histories without exception have perpetuated the error and most of them ascribe the establishment of the post to Major Long's expedition when in fact Long had nothing whatever to do with it.\*

There never was a time when the post was called Fort Calhoun and it was established by a regular military expedition sent out by the government under the command of Colonel Henry Atkinson. The complete facts concerning it are clearly shown in the messages of the Presidents during its existence. In his annual message to Congress in November, 1818, President Monroe said: "With a view to the security of our inland frontier it has been thought expedient to establish strong

<sup>7</sup> James's An Expedition to the Rocky Mountains Under Command of Major S. H. Long, Vol. I, p. 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> James's An Expedition to the Rocky Mountains Under Command of Major S. H. Long, Vol. I, p. 1.

posts at the mouth of the Yellowstone river and at the Mandan village on the Missouri".

In December, 1819, he wrote: "The troops who were ordered to the mouth of the Yellowstone on the Missouri have ascended that river to the Council Bluff, where they will remain until the next spring when they will proceed to destination".

The expedition to the Yellowstone was abandoned the following year and, from the time the troops camped there until the permanent fort was constructed, it was called "Camp Missouri".

In his message of November, 1820, the President informed Congress that our military positions at various points had been maintained and among them he named "Council Bluff". In his message of December, 1823, he informed Congress of the disaster which had befallen General Ashley's trading expedition and stated that "Colonel Leavenworth who commanded Fort Atkinson at the Council Bluff the most western post with a detachment of the regiment stationed at the Bluff successfully attacked the Rickaree village".

Between 1820 and 1823 Camp Missouri had been elevated to the dignity of a fort defended by artillery and was named after its first commander, Colonel, afterwards General, Atkinson.

In a special message in January, 1826, President John Quincy Adams reported to the Senate among other Indian treaties three which had been concluded at Fort Atkinson by General Henry Atkinson and Major Benj. O'Fallon. The fort is said to have been abandoned in 1827 and this brings us to within one year of that date.

These extracts from the messages of two Presidents carrying as they do from that early date distinct references to a local point in our near vicinity must be as interesting to every student of our early history as it was to me. It was almost by accident that in the course of

my search for reliable information the thought occurred to me to examine the Presidents' messages of that period.

The date of the founding of this fort is given in all of our histories as September 26, 1819, which date is evidently obtained from Long's journal, and a writer whose paper is published by the Historical Society in 1892 makes quite an affair of the occasion. He gives the names of a number of notables present besides the commanding officer and his staff, and among them names Governor Clark of Missouri, who was the Clark of Lewis and Clark. Of course nothing of the kind could have occurred at that date. The troops which arrived then merely constructed temporary winter quarters, there being no expectation of their remaining longer than the following spring. It is doubtful that Atkinson himself was present.

Major Long at his camp five miles distant makes a very brief entry on September 26th, of the arrival of the flotilla from Cow Island <sup>10</sup> which was probably only the advance guard of the expedition. He does not mention Atkinson's name although he gives the names of other officers. Colonel Atkinson and his regiment had embarked on steamboats which proved unfitted for the navigation of the Missouri and reached Cow Island at the mouth of the Kansas River too late for that season. The remainder of the journey had to be made in row boats and was probably not undertaken until the next spring.

The interesting fact remains that on the present site of the village of Fort Calhoun an important military post existed for a number of years, which at one time contained two regiments of infantry and a battalion of artillery — a larger force than has ever been gathered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Vol. IV, 1892, p. 21.

<sup>10</sup> James's An Expedition to the Rocky Mountains Under Command of Major S. H. Long, Vol. I, p. 140.

near Omaha, although it has been a military department headquarters for fifty years.

Major Long and his party made the entire journey from Pittsburgh in a steam boat constructed there especially for the government service. This steam boat was an experiment at that time. He reached Fort Lisa, the trading post of the Missouri Fur Company, on September 17, 1819, and established his winter quarters, which he called Engineer Cantonment, on September 19th, half a mile above Fort Lisa and five or six miles below the Council Bluff. <sup>12</sup>

This Fort Lisa, or its near vicinity, would supply a most interesting landmark if it could be identified. It was the first white settlement in this part of the world and the center of all life and business in this locality for more than a quarter of a century. Its past importance has only lately supplied the basis for a fanciful story. In territorial days a hamlet existed near the site of this camp called Rockport, of which nothing now remains except the name.

A few months ago a two column article was published in the Globe Democrat of St. Louis and reprinted in the Chicago Record Herald and perhaps other newspapers which narrates the existence of the remains of an ancient city on the Missouri. "Years and years ago", says the story, "before Chicago was thought of or before Fort Dearborn was built, Rockport was a flourishing settlement". The river left it in a night and ended its existence. The remains of its hotels and other buildings are described and the article goes on to relate that the river has now returned to its ancient channel and a boy may stand on the rotten wharf and cast a shale into its waters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> James's An Expedition to the Rocky Mountains Under Command of Major S. H. Long, Vol. I, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> James's An Expedition to the Rocky Mountains Under Command of Major S. H. Long, Vol. I, p. 137.

An article published last year in a Sunday edition of the *Omaha World Herald* about Rockport was doubtless the basis of this story. In this article the former importance of Rockport is also set forth and the remains of old hotels and other buildings are referred to as well as its connection with the old trading post of Lisa.

This mention of Rockport revived a recollection of my own. When the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad was commenced, it was necessary to use cottonwood ties, and a tie camp was established at Rockport where the timber was very dense. After the ties were cut, they were floated down the river to Omaha, where they were subjected to a creosote process called "burnetizing". I had occasion to go there in the interest of the bank with which I was then connected. It was a wild and weird scene full of bustling activity and a life very foreign to the usual treeless surroundings which then marked the habitations of the pioneers. There were numerous cabins and boarding houses, and if there are any remains there now, they would undoubtedly be from this tie camp.

Major Long described his camp as follows: "A narrow plain or beach closely covered with trees between the immediate bank of the river and the bluffs which rise two hundred feet gradually sloped and ascended without difficulty, also covered with trees. Cliffs of sparry limestone rise in the rear of the site to an elevation of three hundred feet".

I have visited recently both the Council Bluff and the probable site of Major Long's camp. There is little at either place to recall his description. At the bluff will be found a comparatively low hill at the base of which the river must at one time have flowed, and the level plateau with high hills in the rear may still be seen. We can, however, only imagine the remarkable freak of nature which must once have been there in a bank rising

abruptly from the brink of the river one hundred and fifty feet high with a level slope from its top to the hills back of it.

Five or six miles below this bluff, which would be near the site of Long's camp and Fort Lisa, we look in vain for any signs of the building stone which once abounded there and was used in the building of the military post at the "Bluff". The limestone cliffs three hundred feet high can no longer be seen. The constant washing of the river at their base finally undermined them and at some period they had fallen into its waters and disappeared. The exact location of Engineer Cantonment could be approximately fixed by the finding of the latitude and longitude which are given in Nicollet's report. In all probability it would be in the river for it has in fact "come back".

Manuel Lisa was the trader mentioned in Astoria as having been the cause of so much trouble to that expedition, 14 and the belief in his craftiness and insincerity came near producing a tragedy. 15 He showed afterwards, however, much more concern for their safety and interests than their treatment of him had deserved. 16

Much confusion and many contradictions exist concerning the fur trading establishments in this locality. In some manner the impression has gained currency that the Astorian expedition of 1811 founded a trading post at Bellevue. No less than three of our histories so distinctly assert.<sup>17</sup> It is also asserted that an opposition

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Nicollet's report, House Executive Documents, 28th Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 52, p. 136. Latitude 41° 25′ 4″. Longitude 95° 43′ 52.5″ West Greenwich.

<sup>14</sup> Irving's Astoria, Ch. 17, p. 199.

<sup>15</sup> Irving's Astoria, Ch. 19, p. 229.

<sup>16</sup> Irving's Astoria, Ch. 20, p. 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Sorenson's Early History of Omaha (1889), p. 35; Savage's History of Omaha, p. 37; History of Nebraska (Western Historical Company), p. 1361; Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Vol. II, 1887, p. 168.

post apparently in the Astor interest was established a few miles below Fort Lisa. In Morton's history it is said that it was founded between 1822 and 1826 by J. P. Cabanne who continued in charge until 1833 when he was succeeded by Major Pilcher. All these references make it appear that Astor's American Fur Company was the ruling business in this region at this early day, and doubtless has justified the centennial celebration at Bellevue in 1911 and the erection there of a stone to the memory of Mr. Astor.

But I have been unable to find the slightest evidence to justify the statement that the Astorian expedition or any of Mr. Astor's companies afterwards ever established a trading post anywhere on the Missouri River or transacted any business in this section of the country. It is certainly not justified by anything that can be found in Astoria. Mr. Astor's main scheme as shown there was to capture the fur trade of the Pacific by the establishment of a headquarters at the mouth of the Columbia River. He sent out two expeditions, one by sea and the other by land, who were to meet at the agreed point.19 The purpose of the land expedition was to find a feasible overland route from the Atlantic coast. The scheme ended in the disasters and tragedies so vividly portrayed in Astoria and, as it is shown there, in failing to obtain the desired governmental support, the enterprise was wholly abandoned.

Bellevue does not appear to have been occupied until the bringing there of the Indian Agency which had been established at the Council Bluff by Major O'Fallon who came up the river with Long. Mr. John Dougherty, who was his interpreter, was for many years a famous agent at Bellevue. In 1832 he entertained there Mr. Catlin, the

<sup>18</sup> Morton's Illustrated History of Nebraska, Vol. I, note 2, p. 72.

<sup>19</sup> Irving's Astoria, Ch. 4, p. 40.

famous Indian traveller and painter.<sup>20</sup> Mr. Catlin's book contains a picture of Bellevue, and the river above and below and the agency buildings are all that are shown as existing at that time.

In my opinion the confusion which has arisen concerning these companies has been mainly caused from the use of similar names. The fur company which operated in this country for many years and had a practical monopoly of the Indian trade was the American Fur Company of St. Louis and not the Astor Company. The fact is shown distinctly in Nicollet's journal.<sup>21</sup> He gives the names of the firms operating it at different times as first Pratte Cabanne & Company, then Pratte Choteau & Company, and finally P. Choteau & Company, and to them he says is due the credit of introducing steamboat navigation on the river in 1832. The two missionaries who were at or near Bellevue from 1833 to 1840 also assert the same thing.<sup>22</sup>

St. Louis merchants had been engaged in the fur trade many years before Astor's time, and the posts of the Missouri Fur Company were found by Astor's expedition at the Mandan village and elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> It is stated in *Astoria* that the Missouri Company was organized in 1808 and was composed of twelve partners. There is nothing definite to go upon, but it is almost certain that some of Lisa's partners in that Company were also partners in the firms which afterwards owned the American Fur Company.

We are told that the two Choteaus, father and son, went up the river in 1809 in the employ of the Missouri

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Catlin's Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians (1876), Vol. II, p. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Nicollet's report, House Executive Documents, 28th Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 52, p. 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Vol. II, 1887, p. 138.

<sup>28</sup> Irving's Astoria, Ch. 14, p. 154.

Fur Company.<sup>24</sup> In Long's journal both Pilcher and Fontanelle are named as being in the employ of the Missouri Fur Company at Fort Lisa. When next we hear from them Major Pilcher, fourteen years afterwards, is in command of the American Fur Company post at or near the same site, and Mr. Fontanelle in the same employ was met in the Rocky Mountains in 1833 by Captain Bonneville's party.<sup>25</sup> Major Pilcher continued at this post for more than twenty years and did not succeed Cabanne as stated in Morton's history, but was himself succeeded by Cabanne, which is distinctly related by the Rev. Mr. Allis.<sup>26</sup> Mr. Cabanne was succeeded by Colonel Peter A. Sarpy.

It is also quite possible that a change in the river assisted in the confusion concerning these posts. Mr. Nicollet relates that he could not get nearer than two or three miles of the site of Engineer Cantonment,<sup>27</sup> and in his map the distance between that camp and "Old American T. H.", as he marks it, seems greater than half a mile. The change in the river may have demanded the removal of the post a few miles lower down the river.

We are told that Choteau and his partners bought Astor's interest in the Mackinaw Company and the name "American" may have been taken at that time.

The honor or credit for the first settlement of this country is not due in any manner to the founder of the wealthy house of Astor, who was himself a foreigner and whose successors have not been more than half Americans. It should be given to those true Americans of French descent whose business sagacity and enterprise opened this country to Christianity and civilization, and

<sup>24</sup> Morton's Illustrated History of Nebraska, Vol. I, note p. 57.

<sup>25</sup> Irving's Bonneville, Ch. 5, p. 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Vol. II, 1887, p. 161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Nicollet's Report, *House Executive Documents*, 28th Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 52, p. 118.

whose names are still household words in the great city to whose early growth and prosperity they contributed so greatly.

The shifting current of the Missouri has washed away nearly every physical reminder of this early life, but when history is written somewhat along the lines defined in a recent address by Professor Fling to the Palimpsest Club, justice will be done to the memory of the men who met the savage without fear on his own ground and endured almost incredible hardships and privations in the prosecution of their daring enterprises. The original documents which are now known and others which only await intelligent search will supply the needed material for the purpose.

# THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE GREENBACK MOVEMENT IN IOWA AND WISCONSIN

#### By CLYDE O. RUGGLES

The Greenback movement in Iowa and Wisconsin, as in most of the Mississippi Valley States, was a farmer's movement, and a study of the economic basis of that movement is a study of the conditions of agriculture in those States during that time.

The basis for the discontent that culminated in Greenbackism in Iowa and Wisconsin had its beginning in the decade 1860 to 1870, though the Greenback party was not organized in either State until 1876. During the decade just mentioned there was a remarkable growth in these States in population, in area under cultivation, and in production, and since remunerative prices ruled throughout most of this decade the agricultural interests were exceedingly prosperous. It was in this decade that much of the foundation of the Greenback movement was laid.

The increase in the population of the United States during this decade was 22.6 per cent, of Wisconsin 35.9 per cent, and of Iowa 76.9 per cent. In addition to more than a million acres disposed of by the United States Government in each of these States, the States themselves sold hundreds of thousands of acres. Out of all of this land many new farms were made, the number increasing during the decade from 61,163 to 116,292 in Iowa, and from 69,270 to 102,904 in Wisconsin, or an increase of 90 per cent in Iowa, and 48 per cent in Wisconsin. This

<sup>1</sup> Tenth Census of the United States, Vol. I, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> United States Land Office Reports.

<sup>3</sup> State Land Office Reports.

<sup>4</sup> Abstract of the Eleventh Census.

enormous increase in area under cultivation, of course, meant a great increase in production. The statistics of production, the receipts of grain in Chicago and Milwaukee, the complaints of the press, and the memorials of the two State legislatures to Congress, all tell the same story — an enormous increase in production. However, the statements of the press and of public men must not be taken too literally. They are doubtless somewhat exaggerated. It was policy for those in public office, especially during the War, to make their reports as favorable as possible. The various memorials to Congress, too, which maintained that production had far outrun the facilities for transportation, doubtless tell more than the truth, for this was a decade in which it was thought that high freight rates could best be reduced through the establishment of competing lines. Much stress was put upon the importance of water transportation to the sea coast as a regulator of freight rates. But after allowance is made for the exaggeration, it is evident that the decade 1860 to 1870 was one of marked expansion and great prosperity for the farmer.

During the decade Iowa almost doubled the amount of corn and wheat produced.\* The increase was not so

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Chicago Tribune, February 25, 1863; Prairie Farmer, April 2, 1864, and September 23, 1865; Cultivator and Country Gentleman, November 17, 1864, and September 23, 1865; Dubuque Herald, November 11, 1869. See also Eighth Census of the United States.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Laws of Iowa, 1868, p. 299; Laws of Iowa, 1870, pp. 258, 278; Iowa Documents, 1868, Vol. II, for a memorial of 23 pages; Laws of Wisconsin (Public), 1863, p. 484; Laws of Wisconsin (Public), 1864, pp. 560-562; Laws of Wisconsin (Public), 1865, pp. 701, 702; Laws of Wisconsin (Public), 1866, p. 197; Laws of Wisconsin (Public), 1867, pp. 208-211. See also Senate Journal (Wisconsin), 1863, pp. 545-547; Assembly Journal (Wisconsin), 1864, pp. 722, 723; Governor's Message (Wisconsin), January, 1867.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See an article by Professor Fish in Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings, 1899.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Bulletins 56 and 57, Bureau of Statistics, United States Department of Agriculture.

marked in Wisconsin. Corn production doubled in that State but there were actually fewer bushels of wheat raised there in 1870 than in 1862. The statistics for live-stock to with but few exceptions, notably sheep, do not show such marked increase during this decade for this branch of husbandry was slighted on account of the high price of grain, because profits are more quickly realized tin grain farming, and because that kind of farming requires less capital. The fact that it took two bushels of corn to buy a pound of butter in Sioux City, Iowa, in 1868 to an indication of the fact that grain-growing was receiving more attention than was dairying.

When it is remembered that during the War Iowa furnished about 75,000 <sup>18</sup> men and Wisconsin about 90,000,<sup>14</sup> it seems rather unusual that there should have been such a marked increase in production from 1860 to 1865. Some 40 out of the 99 counties in Iowa had less male population in 1863 than in 1860.<sup>15</sup> The withdrawal of the able producers was seriously felt in both of these States.<sup>16</sup> But

 $<sup>^9\,</sup>Bulletins~56$  and 57, Bureau of Statistics, United States Department of Agriculture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Bulletin 64, Bureau of Statistics, United States Department of Agriculture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Bulletin 24, United States Department of Agriculture, entitled Relation of Population and Food Products in the United States, p. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Cultivator and Country Gentleman, July 16, 1868, March 24, 1870, and September 15, 1870; Prairie Farmer, January 6, 1872, and June 15, 1872; Report of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1869, pp. 370, 544; Report of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1873, p. 417.

<sup>13</sup> Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa), 1866, Appendix G, p. 469. This report gives 78,059, which includes re-enlistments. The United States War Department allows Iowa but 75,835.—Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa), 1866, p. xv.

<sup>14</sup> Report of the Adjutant General (Wisconsin), 1865, p. 817.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Population by counties in *Iowa Comparative Census*, 1880, pp. 204, 209.

<sup>16</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1863, pp. 346, 375; Iowa Agricultural Report, 1864, pp. 4, 354, 355; Iowa Agricultural Report, 1865, p. 475; also Second Inaugural of Governor Stone in Shambaugh's Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa; Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricul-

from the reports of the condition of agriculture in these States one would not surmise that a war was being waged. The Secretary of the Iowa Agricultural Society said in 1863: "Should a stranger to our nation's struggle visit us he could observe no external sign to warn him that this land was engaged in a most gigantic struggle for the perpetuation of its free institutions. New fields have been daily added to our breadth of cultivated land. Houses and barns and orchards have sprung up as if by magic." A similar statement was made by the same official the following year 18 and by the Secretary of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society in 1861.

One reason why these States could lose so many able producers, and still forge ahead at such a rapid rate, was because of the introduction of agricultural machinery, and the change also enabled women and children to work in the fields. But it must be remembered also that the industry of agriculture had received a powerful stimulus through the bounty system of the Homestead Law, and through the War prices received for its products.

About a year before the War the following statement was made in a report from one of the oldest southeastern counties of Iowa: "Of corn planters the only one used at the present time is a two horse planter and that to a limited extent. The different hand planters have been tried and entirely abandoned. The general prevailing opinion among farmers is that the best method of planting corn is to drop carefully by hand and cover with the hoe". <sup>20</sup> This prevailing opinion did not long exist after the War

tural Society, 1861-1868, pp. 84, 90; Wisconsin Farmer, April 1, May 1, and November 1, 1865; Laws of Wisconsin (Public), 1864, p. 564.

<sup>17</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1863, p. 12. See also pp. 5, 369, 414.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1864, p. 4; see also Cultivator and Country Gentleman, January 7, 1864, and January 5, 1865.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1861-1868, pp. 83, 84; see also Milwaukee Trade and Commerce Report, 1863, pp. 3, 4, 14, 15, 33.

<sup>20</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1859, p. 302.

broke out. In both States laborers became scarce and wages high. Especially during harvest it was necessary to buy machinery if the crop was to be saved.<sup>21</sup> In 1859 there were 26 entries of agricultural machinery at the Iowa State Fair; in 1863, 126; in 1864, 181; and in 1865, 221.<sup>22</sup> In Wisconsin,<sup>28</sup> too, there was a similar increase in the use of machinery and the school attendance in both States shows that children were kept out of school to some extent to help operate this machinery.<sup>24</sup>

But there would probably not have been such extensive use of machinery and such a great expansion of agriculture in these States and in the country generally had it not been for the stimulus of War prices. The Superintendent of the Census, writing in 1864, made the following statement: "There can be little doubt that the war is destined to make a great change in our agriculture. Farming never was so remunerative as at the present time. . . . Prices have increased to a figure never before reached in this country. Everything that the farmer can raise is in demand at rates which are highly remunerative." 25 He believed that this would cause many to enter agriculture. A writer in the Cultivator and Country Gentleman 26 maintained that the profits of agriculture, taken as a whole during the few years preceding 1869 were such as to invite thousands of men into this branch of industry.

<sup>21</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1863, p. 346.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1865, p. 17; Iowa Agricultural Report, 1867, pp. 213, 222, 226; Iowa Daily Register, September 1, 1868.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1861-1868, pp. 38-40, 51, 52; Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1871, p. 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (Wisconsin), 1866, p. 7; Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (Iowa), 1908, p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Eighth Census, volume on Agriculture, pp. xl, 111; see also Cultivator and Country Gentleman, January 28, February 4, March 3, 10, 24, and June 16, 1864, and December 28, 1865.

<sup>26</sup> Cultivator and Country Gentleman, March 31, 1870.

An examination of the prices 27 of agricultural products from about 1863 to about 1869 will convince one that during this time farmers were easily able to pay off previously contracted debts and unload many mortgages. The Prairie Farmer observed in 1864 that "There must he something radically wrong with the farmer that does not now free himself from debt. Never in the life-time of the present generation will such another opportunity present itself. Every cultivated product of the temperate latitude bears a highly remunerative price".28 The status of agriculture in the loyal States was summed up as follows in the Report of Agriculture in 1866: "The agricultural condition of the northern states was never more flourishing. High prices, accessible markets and crops of average abundance have insured good profits, and as a result mortgages have been paid, farm buildings erected, permanent improvements accomplished, farm implements and machinery obtained and in thousands of instances a surplus invested in government funds." 29

Turning to Iowa it is seen that these statements of the status of farmers in general throughout these years, apply without qualification to conditions in that State. In a report for the year 1863 the statement was made that "During the past year our farmers have had a season of financial prosperity, seldom equaled, and the times have been good for making money, everything bringing a good price." "During the past fall," the report continued, "many of our farms have been released from under the pressure of the money lenders' mortgages, and those just starting, partly on borrowed capital feel relieved

<sup>27</sup> For farm value of crops in Iowa and Wisconsin, see Reports of the United States Department of Agriculture. Prices in Chicago are conveniently found in Chicago Board of Trade Reports.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Prairie Farmer, September 10, 1864; see also Cultivator and Country Gentleman, March 10, 1864.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Report of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1866, p. 5; see also Cultivator and Country Gentleman, March 1 and April 1, 1866.

and breathe much easier than before at the enlarged prospects now spread out before them." 30 In 1864 the reports from various parts of the State were equally buoyant. Said one: "Every element of prosperity seems to flourish here in this land of freedom".31 In the report of the Secretary of the Iowa State Agricultural College Farm, written in 1864, the following statement was made: "Whether our figures of production are correct or not, within the past five years our people have recovered from the pressure of heavy indebtedness and are now in a position generally of comfort and ease. Those who were borrowers of money five years ago in many instances now have money to loan. . . . Our people are comfortable and prosperous and with a prospect in the future not excelled by any people on the face of the globe." 32 In an address before the Union Fair at Wheatland, Iowa, in September, 1864, Judge J. F. Dillon presented figures to show that a young man could come from the Eastern States, buy a farm of 80 acres, break the ground, fence the farm, and build upon it a modest house and barn. and with the proceeds from the crop pay for the land, the fence around it, and the improvements upon it, and have \$545.00 besides. He appealed to the young men of the country to leave the crowded cities of the East and come to the Mississippi Valley to make their fortune. 33

There is plenty of evidence that this and similar appeals were heard. In 1865 there was much complaint in Iowa, both in towns and in the country, of the lack of houses,<sup>34</sup> and the demand for improved farms could be but

<sup>30</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1863, pp. 12, 359, 409, 414.

<sup>31</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1864, p. 314.

<sup>§2</sup> Fifth Annual Report of the Iowa State Agricultural College and Farm, p. 63.

<sup>23</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1864, p. 115; see also an address by the President of the State Fair Association in The Iowa Homestead, October 9, 1867.

<sup>34</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1865, p. 8.

partially supplied.35 So great was this scarcity of houses in some places that building associations were organized to erect houses to sell and rent. 36 An Iowa correspondent of the Cultivator and Country Gentleman said in August, 1866, that rents were higher in all the Iowa towns he had visited than they were in Albany.37

Judge Dillon's invitation had been accepted. Moreover, statements similar to the one he made in 1864 concerning the great profit to be made in farming were to be multiplied many times in the agricultural papers and State reports down to about 1869. It would be tedious indeed to present even a fractional part of the evidence of the prosperity of the Iowa farmer during the years 1867 and 1868. A few short sentences from reports from various parts of the State must suffice. "It affords me pleasure to record enterprise, plenty and prosperity. Contentment was never more wide spread. Good prices and plenty of the good things of this life infuse spirit into every department of industry." 38 "Our agricultural interests are prosperous. Our farmers are acquiring wealth quite rapidly." 89 "More material progress has been made in the last six months than during any former period." 40 "The agricultural interest has never been in a more flourishing condition. Good crops and good prices have made the farmers full handed." 41 Cases were frequent like that which Judge Dillon cited in 1864.42

No such expansion as has just been described in

<sup>35</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1865, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1865, p. 8.

<sup>37</sup> Cultivator and Country Gentleman, August 9, 1866; see also Iowa Agricultural Report, 1865, p. 6.

<sup>38</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1867, pp. 476, 477.

<sup>39</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1868, p. 341.

<sup>40</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1868, p. 353.

<sup>41</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1868, pp. 364, 365.

<sup>42</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1870, p. 400; Iowa Homestead, January 15, 1868, January 15, 1869, and December 18, 1869.

Iowa is to be found in Wisconsin during this decade. Attention has already been called to the fact that the increase in population in Iowa during the decade was 76.9 per cent and in Wisconsin but 35.9 per cent. Nevertheless there was substantial progress in the latter State. The Secretary of the Wisconsin State Grange testified to the special correspondent of the New York Tribune that "at the close of the war and for a year or two afterward the Wisconsin farmers were generally out of debt and a little 'forehanded';' that "the high prices which they had received for their products of every kind had enabled them to pay off what they were before owing, to purchase farm machinery in abundance and to indulge in many luxuries which had before been unknown to them." 48 There is much evidence to substantiate this statement.44

With such published reports as must have gone out from both of these States, in addition to many letters that were doubtless written, it is no wonder that many even from the Old World should have found their way into the Mississippi Valley to engage in farming. This is reflected in the increase of homestead entries pari passu with the increase in immigration. Thus did the public land policy help to lay the foundation for the agricultural discontent of the latter part of the decade 1870 to 1880, for an abundance of free land brought an overproduction of agricultural products 46 and furthermore per-

<sup>43</sup> New York Tribune, November 4, 1873; see also Report of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1865, p. 87; Report of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1866, p. 5.

<sup>44</sup> Wisconsin Farmer, May 1, 1866, January 12, May 4, and August 31, 1867, April 4 and August 22, 1868, and July 3, 1869; also Milwaukee Trade and Commerce Report, 1864, p. 4; 1866, p. 10; Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1861-1868, pp. 25, 34, 83, 99, 100, 191, 199, 229.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> See Donaldson's Public Domain, pp. 351-355; Statistical Abstract, 1907, p. 726.

<sup>46</sup> See Bulletin 24, Bureau of Statistics, United States Department of Agriculture; also an article by Charles Francis Adams in North American

sons entering these homesteads usually carried on their operations on a very narrow margin: consequently they were among those most seriously affected by the sharp decline in the prices of agricultural products which occurred in this decade. It was no mere accident that the Greenback party was organized in both of these States in 1876. In the decade 1860 to 1870 there was much agitation in Congress in regard to the greenback and two important laws 47 had been passed concerning that currency, but the farmers during most of this decade were prosperous and contented, hence they paid but little attention to this agitation.

Men are prone to consider existing conditions as permanent and when prices began to drop in the latter part of the decade 1860 to 1870 the farmers in Iowa and Wisconsin considered the slump but temporary, and on the strength of the prosperity they had witnessed and enjoyed for five or six years they did not hesitate to go into debt for land after the choice homesteads had been taken. The receipts of grain in Chicago and Milwaukee during the latter part of this decade show that the farmers in these and other Mississippi Valley States were withholding their wheat from market in the hope that prices would again reach their former high level. As a correspondent in the Western Rural 50 stated it:

Review, Vol. 120, pp. 241 ff.; Atlantic Monthly, October, 1873; National Livestock Journal, February, 1873; Commercial and Financial Chronicle, January 4, 1879; New York Herald, December 9, 1878.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> United States Statutes at Large, Vol. XIV, pp. 31, 32; Vol. XV, p. 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Cultivator and Country Gentleman, March 13, 1879; Prairie Farmer, March 2, June 1 and 22, 1867; Iowa Agricultural Report, 1870, p. 400; Wisconsin Farmer, February 27, 1869; Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1871, pp. 13, 14; Milwaukee Trade and Commerce Report, 1871, p. 144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> See Chicago Board of Trade Report, 1880, p. 43, and Milwaukee Trade and Commerce Report, 1880, p. 57, for grain receipts for a number of years from harvest to January 1 and from January 1 to harvest.

<sup>50</sup> Western Rural, September 7, 1867.

"In 1866 and 1867 wheat sold for \$3.50 and is not the prospect as good for that price in 1868?" A similar view was expressed by an Iowa correspondent of the Cultivator and Country Gentleman <sup>51</sup> and by the Milwaukee Trade and Commerce Report. <sup>52</sup> The Prairie Farmer <sup>53</sup> maintained in 1870 that there were many Wisconsin farmers still holding \$2.50 wheat and that most of them had been in debt ever since that wheat had been harvested. Wheat was worth, in January, 1870, on the Chicago market, but seventy-seven cents per bushel. <sup>54</sup>

That the farmers of Iowa and Wisconsin were probably operating on a rather narrow margin of profit in the closing years of the decade 1860 to 1870 is indicated by their efforts to reduce the cost of transporting their products. Bills to reduce freight rates were introduced into the legislatures of both of these States, but they failed to pass.55 Some sections of these States did not yet have adequate railway facilities, and Senators and Representatives from these districts would not vote for bills which would discourage railroad building.56 Even those sections with one road hoped to gain something by securing a competing line. But a more potent reason than either of these was the fact that prices of agricultural products had not yet fallen to the ruinous levels of the following decade. When the farmers felt themselves pinched by the falling prices, they tried three different means to relieve themselves. First, they attempted

<sup>51</sup> Cultivator and Country Gentleman, March 19, 1869.

<sup>52</sup> Milwaukee Trade and Commerce Report, 1869, p. 6.

<sup>58</sup> Prairie Farmer, April 16, 1870.

<sup>54</sup> Chicago Board of Trade Report, 1870.

<sup>55</sup> Senate Journal (Wisconsin), 1866, pp. 883, 884, 889-894; Senate Journal (Wisconsin), 1867, pp. 641-649; also Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1861-1868, p. 99; Wisconsin Farmer, January 19, 1867; House Journal (Iowa), 1870, pp. 442, 443; Senate Journal (Iowa), 1870, pp. 378, 463, 482, 615; New York Tribune, October 14, 1873.

<sup>56</sup> House Journal (Iowa), 1870, p. 401; Iowa Agricultural Report, 1869, p. 214; Iowa Agricultural Report, 1870, pp. 459-501; Senate Journal (Wisconsin), 1867, pp. 641-649.

to reduce the cost of transporting their products; second, they tried to eliminate the commission of the middle man through coöperative buying and selling through the Grange; and third, they demanded that the United States Government increase the circulating medium. In fact the fight against the railroads, the Granger movement, and the Greenback movement are all phases of one large movement.

From what has been said concerning the prosperity of farmers during the decade 1860 to 1870, it will not be a surprise to learn that many continued to enter this industry in the decade 1870 to 1880 even though prices were somewhat on the decline, and as has been stated, the homestead or bounty system did much to increase the number who went into farming.57 The number of farms in these States increased less rapidly during the decade 1870 to 1880 than in the previous decade, but the increase in acreage was greater in Iowa in the decade 1870 to 1880 than it had been from 1860 to 1870.58 The population of Iowa, from 1870 to 1880 increased 36 per cent; the number of farms, 68 per cent; and the increase in acreage, 59 per cent. In Wisconsin the increase in population was 24.7 per cent; the increase in the number of farms, 30 per cent; and in acreage but 31 per cent. The increase in improved acreage was much more marked in Iowa than in Wisconsin, being about 111 per cent in the former State and but 55 per cent in the latter; also the percentage of unimproved land to the total land in farms in 1880 was but 19.7 per cent in Iowa as compared with 40.3 per cent in Wisconsin. 59 As might be expected from these figures, there was a marked difference in the development of agriculture in the two States during the decade 1870 to 1880. In Iowa there was a marked concentra-

<sup>57</sup> See also Twelfth Census of the United States, Vol. V, p. xxviii; Financial and Commercial Chronicle, January 5, 1879.

<sup>58</sup> Abstract of the Eleventh Census, pp. 61, 62.

<sup>59</sup> Abstract of the Eleventh Census, pp. 61, 62.

tion of effort on grain farming while in Wisconsin the tendency was more in the direction of diversification of crops. This, as will be seen later, had much to do with the fact that Greenbackism was stronger in Iowa than in Wisconsin.

During the decade 1870-1880 the acreage of corn in Iowa increased from 2.9 millions to 6.8 millions, and the acreage of wheat from 1.7 millions to 3.1 millions. In other words the increase in the acreage of wheat was about 90 per cent; the increase in the wheat acreage of Wisconsin for the same period was but 6 per cent.60 If producing an abundance of the staple grains had meant prosperity, then surely Iowa would have been in the front rank during this decade. It was pointed out that this concentration upon a few lines of effort would bring the farmers of the State to grief, but this advice was not heeded. The statement was made in a leading agricultural journal in 1871 62 that not one in twenty in Iowa practiced mixed husbandry and the Agricultural Department at Washington made the statement in a monthly report in 1873 that even a rotation of crops was almost unknown in seven-eighths of the reported counties in Iowa.63

In Wisconsin on the other hand there was some indication even in the latter part of the decade 1860 to 1870 of the adoption of a more diversified agriculture. In 1868 the Secretary of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society

<sup>60</sup> Based on data in Bulletin 57, Bureau of Statistics, United States Department of Agriculture.

<sup>61</sup> See Iowa Agricultural Report, 1869, pp. 220, 223, 226, 257, 284, 320; Iowa Agricultural Report, 1870, pp. 338, 400, 401; Iowa Agricultural Report, 1871, pp. 97, 98, 397; Iowa Agricultural Report, 1872, pp. 170, 174, 175, 427; Report of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1868, p. 515; Iowa Homestead, February 6, 1874; Message of Governor C. C. Carpenter in 1876 in Shambaugh's Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa, Vol. IV, pp. 137, 138.

<sup>62</sup> Cultivator and Country Gentleman, September 7, 1871.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Report of the United States Department of Agriculture, March, 1873, p. 58.

made the following statement: "The old rule of wheat, wheat, wheat, is giving way to a more rational practice. Clover that invaluable ameliorator of soils, so seldom seen as late as 1860 now rejoices the hearts of thousands of half exhausted fields with the promise of a better day; and the disposition to cultivate a variety of crops has been growing stronger with advancing years." 64 Not. however, until the decade 1870 to 1880 was there a change of much importance. In 1871 the Secretary of the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society said: "Our farmers should have learned by this time that there is no such thing as permanent success without systematic rotation and manuring. But systematic fertilization is impossible without a liberal supply of livestock. The conclusion is inevitable, therefore, that grain growing must go hand in hand with grass growing and stock raising. Here and there one is found who practices upon this manifest principle as if it were cardinal; and such farmers are invariably successful. Besides keeping up the fertility of their lands, they are safe from the ruin which may come to him who stakes all upon a single crop. Neither drouth, nor flood, nor insect foes, nor yet commercial changes can utterly overwhelm him; and inasmuch as it is hardly possible that all these calamities should overtake him at once, he is always master of the situation." The same sentiment was expressed by the President of the University of Wisconsin and by Professor W. W. Daniels of the same institution at the Wisconsin State Fair in 1873 and 1874.66 The admonitions to diversify joined by the more potent force of falling prices brought about a

<sup>64</sup> Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1861-1868, p. 32; see, however, Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1861-1868, p. 33.

<sup>65</sup> Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1871, p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1873-1874, pp. 95-110; Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1874-1875, pp. 333-346.

change in the character of agriculture in Wisconsin. The State produced fewer bushels of wheat in 1880 than it did in 1870. In 1870, 18 million bushels of wheat were received in Milwaukee; in 1880 but 11 millions. In 1870, 16 million bushels of wheat were shipped from this market; in 1880 but 9.9 millions. In 1879 the Secretary of the State Agricultural Society was able to say that sections of wheat were a thing of the past; that mixed husbandry was universal and that the people of Wisconsin were wiser, happier, and richer therefor. He maintained that Wisconsin had passed the period of speculation, heavy loans, and exorbitant rates of interest incident to the settlement of a new State and had entered upon a career of stability and solid growth.

In this shift from a concentration of attention upon grain-raising Wisconsin made substantial gains in the dairy industry. There are several important reasons why this should have been so. Wisconsin has a cool climate and plenty of pure water, the proper combination for good ice and cheap ice, an essential factor for the dairy industry; the grasses of the State are nutritious and abundant, and corn can be raised in sufficient abundance for silage. Compared with Iowa the State had more land that could be used for grazing that could not be so profitably used for other purposes. As has been pointed out the percentage of unimproved land in farms to the total land in farms in Wisconsin was in 1880, 40.3

<sup>67</sup> Bulletin 57, Bureau of Statistics, United States Department of Agriculture.

<sup>68</sup> Milwaukee Trade and Commerce Report, 1880, p. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1879-1880, pp. xxi, xxii; see also Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1872-1873, pp. 29, 31, 159, 231; Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1873-1874, p. 42; Cultivator and Country Gentleman, September 28 and October 5, 1871.

<sup>70</sup> See a master's thesis (University of Chicago, 1910) by Mary Dopp entitled Geographical Influences on the Industrial Development of Wisconsin, p. 104.

per cent; in Iowa but 19.7 per cent. With these natural advantages and remunerative prices for dairy products. it was the natural course for Wisconsin farmers to turn attention to the dairy. It is not here claimed that the dairy industry was developed in Wisconsin during the decade 1870 to 1880. The important consideration in this study is not a comparison of the decade 1870 to 1880 with other decades in Wisconsin but a comparison of the industry in Wisconsin in the decade 1870 to 1880 with Iowa in the same decade. It might appear from the statistics that the development of the dairy industry had been greater in Iowa than in Wisconsin. In Iowa milk cows increased from 369.811 in 1869 to 854.187 in 1879, or an increase of 130 per cent; in Wisconsin, during the same period, the number increased from 308,377 to 478,374, or an increase of but 55 per cent. In Iowa 55,481,958 pounds of butter were made in 1879 against 33,353,045 71 in Wisconsin, but when a fair basis of comparison, the product per cow, is taken, Wisconsin made 69 pounds of butter to 64 pounds in Iowa, sold 52 gallons of milk to Iowa's 18 gallons, and manufactured 4.5 pounds of cheese to 1.1 pounds in Iowa.

It is interesting to observe, too, that the farmers in those sections of both of these States that did develop the dairy were prosperous and contented, <sup>72</sup> and as will be pointed out later those sections paid but little attention to the Greenback movement. It is significant, too, that the year which marked the poorest yield of wheat in

<sup>71</sup> Twelfth Census of the United States, Vol. V, pp. 704, 710, 711.

<sup>72</sup> Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1873-1874, p. 30; Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1875-1876, p. 384; Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1880-1881, pp. 44-46; Wisconsin Dairy Men's Association Proceedings, 1875, pp. 10-14; Wisconsin Dairy Men's Association Proceedings, 1879, p. 128. Cultivator and Country Gentleman, January 5, 1871; Madison Western Farmer, October 25, 1873; Iowa Agricultural Report, 1873, p. 341; Iowa Agricultural Report, 1878, pp. 637, 638; Iowa Agricultural Report, 1879, pp. 444, 445; Journal of Agriculture, January 20, 1870.

both of these States was the year of the organization of the Greenback party in these States. The acreage in corn in Iowa in this same year, 1876, was 150,000 acres greater than in the year previous, yet the crop of 1876 was 18 million bushels less than in 1875, and a similar statement can be made concerning the oat crop. 78 There was a marked contrast between the unfavorable agricultural reports from various sections of Iowa in 1876 \* and the optimistic reports of about ten years previous. 75 The farm value of an acre of wheat in Iowa had been \$22.72 in 1866 and in 1876 was but \$5.48.76 The Secretary of the Iowa Agricultural Society said in January, 1878, about the time of the greatest strength of the Greenback party in Iowa, that there never had been a time in the history of the State when there was so great a depression in business of all kinds as existed at that time." He said that corn had been bought in large quantities on the line of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad for eight cents per bushel.78 To what extent the unfavorable years combined with low prices affected the people of Iowa as compared with Wisconsin may be seen from the fact that in 1860 57 per cent of those in the State with occupations were engaged in agriculture against 44 per cent in Wisconsin and 44 per cent in the United States.79 There were only 9 counties out of 99 in Iowa in 1880 in which the value of manufactured products exceeded that of agricultural products; in Wisconsin there were 30 such counties out of a total of only 58. In Iowa but 11.3 per

<sup>73</sup> See Bulletins 56 and 58, Bureau of Statistics, United States Department of Agriculture.

<sup>74</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1876, pp. 331, 349, 372, 401, 404, 405, 448, 449.

<sup>75</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1866, pp. 8, 9.

<sup>76</sup> Farm value report in Reports of the United States Department of Agriculture.

<sup>77</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1877, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>78</sup> Iowa Agricultural Report, 1878, p. 7.

<sup>79</sup> Tenth Census of the United States, Vol. I, pp. 712, 713.

cent of those with occupations were engaged in manufacturing in 1880; in Wisconsin 20.7 per cent were so engaged. The number of manufacturing establishments increased but 5.4 per cent in Iowa from 1870 to 1880; in Wisconsin the increase was 9.2 per cent; the capital invested increased in Iowa but 39.1 per cent, in Wisconsin 75.8 per cent. Even in the line of "agricultural manufactures", flour and grist mills, and the manufacture of agricultural implements, Iowa was far outstripped by Wisconsin. 10 was consin. 1

This activity in the various manufacturing industries in Wisconsin was of benefit to the farmers of that State in at least three ways. It relieved the competition in their own calling; it provided a market in many sections of the State at their very doors; <sup>82</sup> and it gave employment to the farmers during the winter season. <sup>83</sup> Furthermore, the farmers of many sections of Wisconsin enjoyed another advantage over the farmers of Iowa in the water transportation both interstate and State, <sup>84</sup> which enabled them to realize better prices for their products. <sup>85</sup>

To summarize the conditions of agriculture in these two States, it has been seen first, that most of the decade 1860 to 1870 was one of marked expansion and prosperity though the expansion was much more marked in Iowa

<sup>80</sup> Tenth Census of the United States, Vol. I, pp. 712, 713.

<sup>81</sup> Tenth Census of the United States, Vol. II, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>82</sup> Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1870, pp. 384, 400, 408, 415-422.

<sup>83</sup> Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1870, pp. 377, 384, 396.

<sup>84</sup> Wisconsin had 153 vessels on United States water, 114 on lakes, and 29 on rivers. On State waters Wisconsin had 24 vessels, making a total of 177 vessels. In Iowa the total was 70, and although by no means the whole number in Wisconsin carried freight, those in Iowa were very largely confined to the ferry business. Besides the vessels so far mentioned which were all steamcraft, Wisconsin had 258 sailing vessels and Iowa had none.—See Abstract of the Eleventh Census.

<sup>85</sup> Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1870, pp. 407, 426.

than in Wisconsin; second, that during the decade 1870 to 1880 there was in Iowa a marked concentration of attention on a few staple grains, while in Wisconsin agriculture was becoming more diversified; third, that in Iowa a much greater percentage of the population was dependent upon agriculture, while in Wisconsin much more attention had been given to manufacturing; fourth, that Wisconsin farmers, because of advantages in water transportation were able to realize better prices for their products than could the farmers of Iowa.

It will now be of interest to observe to what extent these differences in these two States are reflected in the Greenback movement. Let it again be repeated that the year of the poorest yield per acre of wheat in the history of both of these States was the year of the organization of the Greenback party and, it may be added, that the years of the lowest prices and greatest agricultural depression were also the years of the greatest strength of the Greenback party, and that as prosperity returned the strength of the Greenback party waned. If this was more than mere coincidence it would be expected that the heaviest Greenback vote would be found in that State which was more dependent upon agriculture, and that this vote would also be heavier in those sections of each State which were the most dependent upon that industry.

An examination of the facts shows that the Greenback vote was not only heavier but continued over a longer period of years in Iowa than in Wisconsin. In 1876 24 counties in Iowa polled a Greenback vote of 5 per cent or above, while in Wisconsin there were but 3 such counties. In 1880 there were 59 such counties in Iowa, and in Wisconsin but 14. A few comparisons are possible between the Greenback vote of 1876 and the State census returns of 1875. If for Iowa all counties which polled a

se Based on election returns in the office of the Secretary of State in Iowa and on the returns given in the Wisconsin Blue Books.

Greenback vote of 10 per cent be included in one group and compared with all other counties in the State, the typical Greenback characteristics appear as follows: In the first group which may for convenience be called the "Greenback group" the value of manufactures per capita was only \$5.57; in all other counties \$31.90; the assessed value of land in the "Greenback group" was \$6.17; in the other counties \$8.13.87 In the counties in Wisconsin, but three in number, which polled a Greenback vote in 1876 of more than five per cent, the assessed value of land per acre was \$2.23; in all other counties in the State, \$12.30; the total assessed valuation per capita of the "Greenback group" in Wisconsin was \$206.10; of all other counties, \$287.14.85

For the presidential year 1880, the census returns are available, and more extensive comparisons are here possible. If for Iowa the 38 counties which polled a Greenback vote of 10 per cent or above be compared with the other counties in the State, it will be seen that in the "Greenback group" the value of manufactures was but \$26.79 per capita; for all other counties, \$63.78; that the value of land per acre in the "Greenback group" was \$21.00; in the other counties, \$23.00; that the total valuation per capita in the "Greenback group" was \$242.00; in the other counties, \$248.00. The table given below shows similar results for Wisconsin.89 It will be seen from the table that the per cent of mortgage to farm value per acre in both States was slightly higher in the "Greenback group" than in the other counties of each State. The per cent of rented farms was greater in the "Greenback group" in Iowa, but the reverse was true in

<sup>87</sup> See the *Iowa Census*, 1875, pp. 380-383, for the value of manufactures by counties. For the value of land per acre, see the *Iowa Census*, 1875, pp. 391, 392.

<sup>88</sup> Report of the Secretary of State (Wisconsin), 1876, pp. 136, 137.

<sup>89</sup> The figures in this table are based on the Tenth Census reports.

#### 162 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Wisconsin.<sup>90</sup> In both States the local debt and local taxation per capita were less in the "Greenback group", which doubtless indicates that these counties had not yet reached the complex economic development of the other counties in these States; that is, the "Greenback counties" were more frontier in character.

<sup>90</sup> Eleventh Census of the United States, Real Estate Mortgages, pp. 139, 153, and Farms and Homes, pp. 296, 297. For an excellent article on the economic interpretation of the Greenback vote, by Professor O. G. Libby, see the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Vol. XII.

TABLE OF STATISTICS FOR IOWA AND WISCONSIN SHOWING PER CENT OF GREENBACK VOTE, TOTAL VALUATION PER CAPITA, FARM VALUE PER ACRE, FARM-PRODUCE VALUE PER CAPITA, MANUFACTURES VALUE PER CAPITA, TOTAL VALUE OF MANUFACTURES AND FARM PRODUCTS PER CAPITA, TOTAL TAX-ATION PER CAPITA, LOCAL DEBT PER CAPITA, PER CENT OF RENTED FARMS, AND PERCENT OF MORT-GAGES TO FARM VALUE PER ACRE.

State	Per cent Total val.	Total valuation per capita	Farm value per acre	Per cent Total value per value per value per capita acre per capita acre per per capita capita capita acre per capita capita acre per capita c	Manufac- factures tures val- and farm ue per products capita	Total value manu- lactures and farm products ation per per capita capita	Total tax- ation per capita	Local debt per capita	Per cent of rented farms	Per cent of mort- gage to farm val- ue per acre
State of Iowa (1880) 38 Greenback Counties,		\$0.40 OK	401 00	6 00	02 004	4100 04	1 4 4	04	0 70	000
All other Counties in		10.18 \$242.60 \$21.89	\$21.89	62.29	\$20.19	\$20.19 \$108.94 \$0.80	\$9.99	\$3.00	24.81	98.09
State State of Wisconsin	4.2	4.2 248.44 23.84	23.84	84.53	63.78	158.31	6.62	5.39	22.99	34.60
(1880) 14 Greenback Counties.										
average Greenback vote All other Counties in		8.6 \$288.09 \$19.25	\$19.25	\$54.34	\$82.13	\$82.13 \$136.47 \$3.85	\$3.85	\$5.47	6.29	39.8
State		1.4 341.05 23.70 55.03 99.68 154.71 4.52	23.70	55.03	99.68	154.71	4.52	7.77	9.05 38.3	38.3

### 164 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

If Iowa put more stress on grain farming than did Wisconsin and if Greenbackism was stronger in the former State, it might be expected that the counties in these States that polled the largest Greenback vote were also the counties that raised the greatest amount of grain per capita. But that was not always true, for as has been pointed out the "Greenback counties" were, in most instances, the poorer counties and this held true, especially in Iowa, even in regard to the number of bushels of grain per capita. However, that the "Greenback counties" were more dependent upon the grain they raised than were the other counties is evident from a comparison of the amount of grain and dairy products of the two groups.

Although the "non-Greenback counties" of Iowa raised but 1.7 times as much grain (wheat, corn, and oats) per capita as did the "Greenback counties", they made on farms more than double the amount of cheese per capita, and sold or sent to butter or cheese factories more than twenty times as much milk per capita, as did the "Greenback counties". In this comparison in Iowa the counties polling a Greenback vote of twenty per cent or above of the total vote in 1880 have been taken as the "Greenback group". Should such a classification be made for Wisconsin it would include but one county. Therefore the counties (but four in number) which polled a Greenback vote of 10 per cent of the total vote in 1880 have been taken as the "Greenback group" in that State. These counties did raise almost as much corn per capita. and more wheat and rye per capita, as was raised in the "non-Greenback group". But here, as in Iowa, the "Greenback counties" fell behind in the amount of dairy products per capita. The "non-Greenback counties" of Wisconsin sold more than double the amount of cheese per capita, and about twenty-two times the amount of milk per capita, that was sold from the "Greenback counties".91

In summary it has been seen that the prosperous decade of 1860 to 1870 encouraged many to engage in farming and to go into debt; that the falling prices of the decade 1870 to 1880 made it impossible for many to pay these debts, especially since the subsidy policy of the Homestead Law had enticed a class with but very slender means to enter agriculture; that the counties which sustained a slightly higher percentage of mortgage to farm value gave more votes to the Greenback party; that the land subsidy policy also brought about a greater production of the principal grains than could be disposed of at a profit; that the Greenback party was organized and attained its greatest strength in both States during the years of greatest agricultural depression and lost its hold on the voter with the return of better times; that the party was strongest in that State which was more dependent upon agriculture, and in the sections of both States that were more frontier in character; and, finally, that in the "Greenback counties" there was but little stress upon manufacturing, diversified farming, and the dairy, and a marked concentration upon grain farming.

<sup>91</sup> The comparisons are based upon the United States Census Reports.

## ASA WHITNEY: FATHER OF PACIFIC RAIL-ROADS

## By Nelson H. Loomis

Columbus discovered America in his efforts to find a short route to India. The same incentive spurred on to heroic effort many other intrepid explorers, and when the railroad became an assured means of transportation, the suggestions for the construction of a line across the continent were usually made with the idea of shortening the distance to China. When in his speech at St. Louis in 1844 Senator Benton predicted the carriage of commerce across the Rocky Mountains by rail, within the lifetime of full grown men then living, it was Asiatic commerce of which he spoke. For years it was generally supposed that the earnings of lines reaching to the Pacific Ocean would accrue almost entirely from Oriental traffic, and the probable revenues from local traffic were considered as incidental — by some as almost negligible. The problem still was how to shorten the journey to China and India. It was this thought which came to the mind of Asa Whitney while riding on the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad in England in 1830, and the movement of the train forced him to the conclusion that it was the railroad that must shorten the distance to the Orient. Asa Whitney was a New York merchant who had resided for a number of years in China and other eastern countries, and who was familiar with commercial conditions in that part of the world. After the idea of reducing the distance to China by utilizing the railroad had found lodgment in his mind, he again visited China and made a careful and exhaustive study of the subject. When he returned to the United States, he had become thoroughly convinced that a railroad should be constructed from the head of navigation on Lake Michigan to the Pacific Ocean, and that when built it would enable the merchants of this country to control the trade of the East.

The thought was ever present in his mind and he gave it constant study and attention. The dream of Columbus and of the gallant explorers who followed him became the controlling factor in Asa Whitney's life. It was a mighty conception but mightier still was the resolve which came with it, that he himself would undertake the great project and by the strength and power of his own initiative carry it forward to a successful termination. The task would seem Quixotic to most people, and impracticable to others, but Asa Whitney welcomed it as a divine call to duty and, turning neither to the right nor to the left, modestly and intelligently proceeded to put his thought into action. He first studied the proposition in all its bearings and made an investigation as to the commerce then existing between the Occident and the Orient and the extent to which it might be increased by the furnishing of more adequate transportation facilities and a shorter route. The Suez Canal was not then constructed and the ships which sailed between Europe and China went around the Cape of Good Hope. The distance from London to China along the route ordinarily followed by sailing vessels was estimated at not less than 17,000 miles. The estimated distance over Whitney's route via water and rail was 11,500 miles, a saving of about 5,500 miles in its favor. His investigations and reflections developed additional reasons to support his original conclusion: build the road and the United States would not only control the trade with China, but with a small naval force would be master of the Pacific Ocean; build the road and the country upon both sides of it would be filled with industrious settlers wherever it was fit to live; build the road and the territory upon the Pacific Ocean would remain in the Union; fail to build it and Oregon would become a free State, controlling the trade of the Orient and exercising dominion upon the Pacific Ocean. Whitney became imbued with the enthusiasm and determination of a fanatic and no obstacle seemed to be sufficient to swerve him from his course.

His plan, roughly speaking, was to build a railroad from the head of Lake Michigan to the mouth of the Columbia River and to pay for it, as it was being constructed, by the sale of the public lands through which the railroad was to run. At that time the lines from the Atlantic Coast were projected as far west as Chicago, and there was no need of starting at a point farther east. Furthermore, there were navigable waters over which traffic could be carried all the way from New York to Chicago. and Lake Michigan was therefore the logical point for the eastern terminus of his line. The possessions of the United States upon the Pacific Ocean at that time included the present States of Oregon and Washington only; California belonged to Mexico and very naturally the mouth of the Columbia River was selected as the western terminus. Later on Seattle on the Pacific Coast and Prairie Du Chien on the Mississippi River were also agreed to as satisfactory termini for Whitney's proposed railroad.

The lands which were to be sold to raise funds for its construction extended for a distance of thirty miles upon each side of the railroad, and were to be paid for by Whitney at the rate of ten cents per acre. Title, however, was not to pass from the Government until the actual construction of certain portions of the railroad had been completed. When ten miles were built, Whitney was to have the right to contract for the sale of the first strip of 60 miles by 5 miles, and patents were to be issued in favor of purchasers and turned over to Whitney for delivery.

With the proceeds of these sales he was to build the next section of ten miles and so on until the road was completed. One-half of the lands were to be held in reserve to pay for construction work in territory where the land was of little value. Whitney anticipated that he would be required to spend more than a million dollars before he became entitled to the proceeds of any of the public lands, and his expectation was that he would find purchasers for them among the persons employed in the construction of the railroad. It was supposed that after working approximately a year they would have earned money enough to buy a farm, upon which they would settle down and make way for other workmen, who in turn would create a market for the supplies raised by the first lot of employees, and so on to the end. One-third of the road was to be completed within nine years, one-third within six years thereafter, and the entire line was to be in use within twenty-five years from the passage of the Act of Congress.

Whitney calculated that the road would cost \$50,000,-000, and that \$15,000,000 more would be needed before it could be placed upon a paying basis. The title to the property was to be vested in him, but its operation was to be subject to the supervision of the Government and the tolls were to be regulated by Congress, the idea being that the property should earn no more than would be necessary to keep it up as a going concern in good physical con-As an illustration of the great change which has taken place in the matter of personal incomes, as well as in the financial ideals of railroad promoters, it is important to note that Mr. Whitney was to have a salary of \$4,000 per year for managing the property. The Government's interest in it was to be represented by a commissioner, and if Whitney and the commissioner could not agree, the matters in dispute were to be settled by arbitrators selected by them. A right of way two hundred feet wide through the public lands was to be granted and the property was to be free from taxation in the Territories through which it passed, which freedom from taxation was to continue after the Territory became a State.

Whitney had no intention of making the enterprise a money-making scheme for his personal aggrandisement, his hopes and expectations in that respect, as well as generally, being stated by him as follows:

"My desire and object have been to carry out and accomplish this great work for the motives, as here and everywhere else by me declared, to give my country this great thoroughfare for all nations without the cost of one dollar; to give employment to and make comfortable and happy millions who are now destitute and starving, and to bring all the world together in free intercourse as one nation. If it is feared that the remuneration will be disproportionate to the extent and importance of the work, then I am ready to relinquish any claim that I may have for compensation, and let the people give me anything or nothing, as they please. If they will but allow me to be their instrument to accomplish this great work, it is enough; I ask no more. I am willing to have my acts scanned, but I feel that I ought not to be doubted when I say that what I have done, and what I propose to do, is not for the gain of wealth, or power, or influence, but for the great good which I am persuaded it must produce to our whole country. I have undertaken this mighty work because I know someone's whole life must be sacrified to it."

Having completed the details of his plan, Whitney formally called it to the attention of Congress through a memorial presented to the Senate and to the House on the 28th of January, 1845; and thereafter he was indefatigable in his efforts to have it favorably acted upon. He interviewed Congressmen and persons of influence. He explained his scheme to committees of the Senate and House, and published articles in regard to it in newspapers and

magazines. He finally concluded that the way to move Congress was to build up a strong public sentiment in favor of his plan. Accordingly he traveled all over the country addressing State legislatures and public assemblages. He met legislative bodies in the States of Maine. New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Maryland, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Indiana, and secured the passage of resolutions favorable to his plan in all of those States. He also secured favorable action from large public meetings in the cities of Cincinnati, Louisville, Terre Haute, Indianapolis, Dayton, Wheeling, and Philadelphia. He faced opposition and ridicule, and at times riotous assemblages. Strange ideas were entertained by many people as to the wisdom and practicability of a railroad across the continent, and a committee of the House, having his plan under consideration, reported that "To build a road from some place on Lake Michigan across three thousand miles of uninhabited country, over mountains the lowest pass of which was seventy-five hundred feet above the sea, was a scheme so gigantic as to be impracticable. Such a road, especially one from Lake Michigan, could be used but a part of each year. How hard it was to clear away snow from the tracks of railroads near Washington was well known to everybody. To keep open a road across plains as high as the highest peak of the Alleghanies crossed by the Cumberland road would be all but impossible."

But Whitney possessed a great fund of information upon the subject, was simple and direct in his style, and on the whole was able to convince people, not only as to the sincerity of his aims, but of the wisdom and practicability of his enterprise; and the fact that he was wealthy made it possible for him to bear the great expense incident to his widespread agitation in favor of it.

On July 31, 1846, the Committee on Public Lands in

the Senate reported a bill in favor of Whitney's project. Favorable reports were made by committees of the House and Senate in 1848. In the same year a motion for the consideration of the bill in the Senate was lost by a vote of 27 to 21.

The climax of Whitney's agitation was reached in the year 1849, when he published a book giving the facts and arguments in favor of a transcontinental railroad, which he had carefully gathered together during many years of laborious effort. It was entitled *Project for a Railroad to the Pacific*. In that year committees of both houses of Congress again made reports favorable to his enterprise, but they were not approved by Congress itself.

A controversy had arisen in the meantime as to the eastern terminus of the road. California had become a part of the public domain in 1848, and San Francisco was at once recognized on all sides as the proper place for its western terminus. But with California reaching as far south as any of the Southern States, eastern termini in the southern portion of the country became as feasible as termini farther north, and the strife became keen as to the States through which the new transcontinental line was to run. In 1863 Congress made provision for the survey of five different routes across the great plains to the Pacific Ocean, the results of which were afterwards embodied in thirteen huge volumes giving valuable detailed information as to the different routes over which it would be practicable to build and operate railroads to the Pacific Ocean.

In 1852 the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads reported a bill setting apart a portion of the public lands to enable Whitney to build his road to the Pacific Ocean, but limiting the eastern and western termini to Memphis and San Francisco and points south thereof, and reaching California by way of the Rio Del Norte. The introduction of this bill marked the end of Whitney's project and the agitation in favor of it. But

the idea had taken possession of the public mind and the discussions in favor of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean would not stop until the enterprise was an accomplished fact. Planks in favor of such a road were embodied in the platforms of both great political parties in 1860, and when the Southern States seceded in 1861, thus removing from consideration all territory in which the War was going on, and it became evident that the construction of a transcontinental railroad was necessary as a war measure, Congress passed an Act of July 1, 1862, entitled "An Act to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and to secure to the Government the use of the same for postal, military and other purposes", under which the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads were built.

The failure of Mr. Whitney's project may be ascribed chiefly to the opinion which prevailed that the undertaking was too stupendous to entrust to a single person. But even though this objection had been overcome, it is quite certain that sectional differences as to the route of the proposed road would have proved an insuperable obstacle to Whitney's plan, just as it did to all other plans for a transcontinental line until the outbreak of the War seemed to make its construction a military necessity.

But it is erroneous to suppose that the failure to build the road under Whitney's plan deprived the country of the benefit of his years of investigation and active work. The information which he gathered and the arguments which he advanced were of immense value when the time arrived for the actual building of the road. The importance of such a road to the entire nation was brought home to all the people through his marvelous exertions, and the building of a transcontinental railroad, together with the great development of the West which accompanied it, might have been delayed many years had it not been for his efforts. It is the Asa Whitneys of the world

who challenge public attention and force the execution of national enterprises as well as the adoption of great reforms. His work is thus summarized in the report of the Committee on Roads and Canals of the House of Representatives in 1850:

"Mr. Whitney has been unremittingly engaged at his own expense since 1841, in collecting information on this subject, as well in Asia as in our own country; and we are indebted to him for the organization of the project, for the maturity of the first plan, for the large amount of practical information that is brought to bear on the subject, and for awakening public attention to its importance."

Under the Act of July 1, 1862, it was left to the President to fix the eastern terminus of the new railroad across the continent, and he did so on the 17th day of November, 1863, by locating it upon the western boundary of Iowa opposite the city of Omaha.

As soon as possible, after the residents of Omaha heard of the action of President Lincoln, and on December 3, 1863, they gathered together to celebrate the event and to break ground for the great enterprise. The spot selected was near the Ferry landing not far above the point where the Union Pacific Shops are now located. Rev. T. B. Lemon of the Methodist Church asked the divine blessing upon the work that was about to be started. The first earth was then removed by Governor Saunders, assisted by Mayor Kennedy. Speeches were made by Mr. A. J. Poppleton (for many years the distinguished General Solicitor of the Union Pacific), and others. George Francis Train also delivered one of his characteristic talks on this occasion.

The work of construction lagged for a while, but in 1864 Congress amended the Act of 1862, so that it was possible to secure the private capital needed to construct the road, and the actual building of it proceeded in earnest. In spite of serious obstacles the work was pushed forward with increased vigor each year, and on the 10th day of May, 1869, the Union Pacific, which had been constructed from Omaha west, and the Central Pacific, which had been built from San Francisco east, were united at Promontory in the Territory of Utah. Thus was accomplished the enterprise which had been dreamed about and talked about for so many years; and it seems proper, at this gathering of persons interested in historical research, held in the city where the great railroad for which he labored so long starts on its course to the Pacific Ocean, that we should call to mind the disinterested work of that modest, unselfish, strong-hearted and public spirited man — Asa Whitney, Father of the Pacific Railroads.

# A FORGOTTEN PHASE OF THE NEW ENGLAND OPPOSITION TO THE WAR OF 1812

## By Frank Maloy Anderson

For the past two years various celebrations such as that to be held at Gettysburg during the coming July have served to remind the American people that we are now passing through the semi-centennial of the Civil War. Public attention along historical lines is, therefore, so much centered upon the Civil War that we are apt to forget that we are also passing through the centennial of the War of 1812. That war, in comparison with the Civil War, was a puny affair when measured by the scale of the military operations, and was much less significant as to the issues directly involved. It was, nevertheless, a war of no mean importance, since it was in fact, as it has been aptly called, our "Second War of Independence".

Nearly all historical accounts of the War of 1812 very properly make much of the fact that there was in the United States a great deal of active and bitter opposition to the War. Most of it came from New England, but it was by no means confined to that quarter of the Union. This opposition protested vigorously against the declaration of war and afterwards throughout the entire struggle manifested a deep aversion to its vigorous prosecution. Even in 1814 when the large reinforcements released from service in Europe by the triumph of the allies over Napoleon enabled Great Britain to invade American territory at several widely separated points, and for a time to occupy considerable portions of it, the critical situation of the United States did not cause the opposition to the War to abate in any perceptible degree. The publication in October of 1814 of the extreme demands of the British peace commissioners at Ghent won over to the support of the War a considerable number of former opponents, especially in the Middle States, but the bulk of the opposition continued to oppose the War until peace was finally announced.

This opposition took many different forms. The best remembered was the Hartford Convention. That famous assemblage, consisting of twenty-five delegates appointed by the legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, and of several irregular delegates from county gatherings in New Hampshire and Vermont, met in secret conclave for about three weeks in December, 1814, and January, 1815, the most critical period of the War. I wish to call attention to a phase of the history of the Hartford Convention which has been almost entirely overlooked by historians, and when alluded to at all has been passed over without any adequate investigation.

What were the supporters of the Hartford Convention saying about it in the newspapers of New England during the period between the issue of the call and the adjournment of the Convention? What did they desire and expect of the Convention? With what kind of arguments did they seek to justify the holding of the Convention and to lay a foundation for defending any proceedings which might subsequently be undertaken as a result of the action of the Convention?

To these questions I have given considerable attention in the course of some studies which led me into an examination of several of the principal collections of New England newspapers for the period of the War of 1812. The investigation has not included all of the existing materials, but has been extensive enough to disclose what seems to me to be a very interesting but forgotten phase of the New England opposition to the War of 1812.

Articles dealing with the Convention were numerous in the Federalist newspapers of New England, though some of the most prominent, such as the *Hartford Courant* and the *Columbian Centinel*, of Boston, gave less attention to the Convention than might be expected from the character of their previous utterances in opposition to the War. The articles fall in general into two classes, corresponding to the line of cleavage which Henry Adams, the leading authority upon the period, recognizes as existing among the Federalist leaders. These classes may be described roughly, but with sufficient accuracy, as conservative and radical.

The chief traits which distinguish the conservative from the radical articles are three in number. (1) The conservative articles did not indicate in any very precise way what the writers desired the Convention to do. That was left to the Convention. (2) They did not seem to expect nor did they seem to desire that the Convention should take action of a very drastic nature. (3) There was an entire absence of the kind of constitutional arguments to be found in the radical articles to which I shall presently call attention.

A fuller description of the conservative articles might be interesting, but I am chiefly concerned with the radical ones. These were marked by two well defined traits. (1) They called upon the Convention to take more decided measures than the Convention actually did take. (2) They contained constitutional doctrines which at a later period would have sounded very strange from the mouths of New Englanders.

The more decided measures which were advocated in one or more of these radical articles were chiefly three. One of them was well set forth in the first of a set of resolutions which a writer in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* <sup>2</sup> suggested should be adopted by the New England legislatures. "That so long as the present war shall endure, or

<sup>1</sup> Adams's History of the United States, Vol. VIII, pp. 290-292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The article was signed, "An Enemy to Separation". It was in seven installments, November 21 to December 5, 1814.

until the National Government shall adopt such measures at its own expense as shall, in the opinion of the Executive and Legislature of this State be deemed sufficient for our protection, it shall not be lawful for any collector, assessor, marshal, or other officer, civil or military, of the United States, to lay, apportion, or assess, demand or collect any taxes within this State, or to enlist or raise troops within the same." Another suggestion was that the New England States should withdraw from the War, make a separate peace with England, and remain neutral during the further continuance of the struggle.4 The third measure was perhaps best expressed in the language of a writer in the Boston Gazette.5 "This convention can, if they should think proper, take for their example and the basis of their proceedings, the result of the Convention of 1788, of which the revered Washington was President, and form a new frame of government, to be submitted to the legislatures of the several states, for their approbation and adoption, and as was the case at that time, this new constitution can go into operation as soon as two. three, four, five, or any other number of states that may be named shall have adopted it." Should this be done, he ventures to predict that "we shall very soon see all the states with which New-England ought to wish any political connection, again united in an improved, efficient, and equitable government - leaving Madison, Monroe, and their coadjutors, as the first jacobite congress left the judges of the United States circuit court; without any jurisdiction."

The most notable feature of the radical articles, however, was their constitutional arguments. In a short paper one can not describe them in full nor attempt to put them in their proper historical setting. Their general character can, perhaps, be best shown by a number of ex-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Boston Daily Advertiser, November 25, 1814.

<sup>4</sup> Boston Daily Advertiser, November 22, 1814.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Boston Gazette, October 31, 1814.

tracts which exhibit their doctrines in regard to some fundamental features of constitutional interpretation.

The Connecticut Spectator of August 3, 1814, contained a long article entitled "A State cannot Rebel". with the subtitle, "State Sovereignty". The editor of the Salem Gazette in October 6 copied it with the remark that it "contains a sober and able discussion of important constitutional doctrines. It is to be hoped that every citizen, who wishes to ascertain the rights as well as the duties of this Commonwealth will bestow upon it a calm and serious perusal." In the course of an extended argument upon the right to control the militia, the writer declared: "Those who by the forms of law may be compelled to obey an order, issued by a superior, have no claim to sovereignty, it being essential to the existence of sovereignty, in one or many, not to be in subjection, to any superior." If the President can order out the militia, he argued, the States are then not sovereign. But this, he affirmed, the President could not do. A number of tests were then applied, all tending to show that the States were sovereign. One of the tests was put in these terms: "Suppose a state legislature pass a law for the building of a navy and the maintenance of a regular army in times of peace; There is no tribunal, not even the U.S. supreme court can do this, which can issue a writ of quo warranto and upon the failure of the state to observe it declare its charter (constitution) forfeited." As this could not be done, his conclusion was that "the state is sovereign, and any attempt to control that sovereignty, is a usurpation." "The truth is", he declared, "that the federal constitution is nothing more than a treaty between independent sovereignties." He then proceeded in the following terms to set forth some of the important consequences of the principles he had stated. "State sovereignty excludes the possibility of State rebellion: a sovereign state may infract its treaties,

<sup>6</sup> Salem Gazette, October 18 and 21, 1814.

but can never rebel; nor can any citizen of such state. while acting under and in pursuance of its authority, be guilty of treason against the United States. Should the time ever arrive. (which God forbid) in which the citizens of this state, acting under its authority, shall be obliged by force of arms, to defend their sovereignty against the usurpations of any other members of the Union, styling themselves the United States; any one of those citizens found in arms against the State, will be a traitor. The contest will be war - public war between sovereigns: in which the laws of war in such case must govern, as much as in a war between Russia and France, or the United States and Great-Britain. It is indeed questionable. whether treason could be predicable of any act in relation to the United States, had not the Federal Constitution declared certain acts to be that crime."

In the course of some further argument over the militia clause of the Constitution, he said: "To such as believe that clause extends to a power to call out the militia, independent of the State Authority, it is sufficient answer to say, that if that clause cannot be carried into execution consistent with the sovereignty of the respective States, it is from that reason void and of no effect; for a construction which goes to destroy State Sovereignty destroys the Federal Constitution. It has been argued that from necessity and the public good, Congress and the President through them, must possess power over the militia, paramount to the State Authority. Such reasoning will establish any claim whatever, and erect a consolidated despotism on the ruins of the federal compact."

"The errors imbibed by so many respecting the powers of the General Government," he declared, "must have resulted from a misapprehension of the depositories of sovereignty in the United States, and of delegated powers. The state governments are depositories of that sovereignty. To Congress, certain powers have been delegated, but

they are mere delegations, and like all other delegations, as the case may be, liable to revocation at the will of the principals, and in no case to be extended beyond the plain meaning of the letter of delegation, nor to be so construed as to give a right to the delegates to destroy their principals."

The article concludes with the following warning to the younger generation: "The younger classes of our citizens who have come upon the stage since the commencement of our Federal Government, have many of them, considered it as one consolidated [government] and not a confederation of independent sovereignties. This unjust conception has been the fruitful source of most of the errors which have led to our present unhappy condition, and nothing short of a correct understanding of our Federal Compact and the true principles of our civil and political liberty, can restore to our country the happiness it enjoyed under the administration of Washington and his associates, in establishing the Independence and accomplishing the Union of the States."

The *Portsmouth Oracle*, of December 31, 1814, contained a short article in the form of a catechism. A few of the questions and answers will bear quotation to show its drift:

Question.—What is the political standing of an Inhabitant of Portsmouth in the State of New-Hampshire?

Answer.— He is a *citizen* of the United States and a *subject* of the State of New-Hampshire.

Q.—To what power does he owe his allegiance?

A.— To the power that governs and protects him in his just rights.— When he is absent from the United States, he then looks to the United States for protection. When in Portsmouth or in any other part of the State, he expects protection from the State of New-Hampshire.

Q.— Why does he owe allegiance to the United States?

A.— Because, owing allegiance to his own State, he is bound by any compact made by his own State; and as this State, with others, have yielded for an indefinite time, certain portions of its sovereignty to the United States, so every inhabitant of this State, when paying due obedience to the laws of the United States, is strictly and truly obeying the sovereign authority of the State of New-Hampshire.

In speaking of the measures advocated in the radical articles, I have already alluded to an article in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, signed "An Enemy to Separation". Some of the constitutional doctrines of that writer are also significant. In the discussion of his proposal for the withholding of Federal taxes, he said:

It is admitted, that to leave individuals to an unsupported resistance would be to invite civil commotion. But no such mad project is contemplated. The power which granted the National Gov't its authority, is the only one which can lawfully judge whether the conditions of the grant are fulfilled.

Although the constitution was submitted to the people, yet it was by *States* that it was ratified. It was by the assent of *nine* states considered as such, that it became a compact. It is to the states then, belongs the right of deciding whether the stipulations of the compact have been fulfilled.

If a state shall decide by its constituted authorities that the National Government have violated its rights and have forfeited their claim to its allegiance, the compact is, if not at an end, at least so far suspended as to be the subject of negotiation and arrangement.

The people of that state are no longer holden to perform their engagements to the National authority. They cannot be traitors or rebels. They may be treated as enemies, like the citizens of any foreign state, if a wicked and abandoned and desperate policy should induce the national rulers to declare war against such a state.

Then after remarking upon some instances as to which men may be divided in opinion, he reached this conclusion:

There must be some cases in which a state must resume its

<sup>7</sup> Boston Daily Advertiser, November 23, 1814.

#### 184 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

natural rights, which I maintain can never be surrendered; I contend that if our ancestors who made the constitution 26 years ago, had given Congress the power, the absurd power contended for, it would not be binding on us their children.

But they never gave it.

Another long article, running through ten numbers of the Boston Daily Advertiser,8 likewise contains some very significant constitutional arguments. The second installment bore the subtitle, "The Nature of our Government". It began with the assertion that, at the separation from the mother country, Massachusetts became "free, sovereign and independent." Under its State Constitution, he asserted, it "became a sovereignty, and exercised every power, by means of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government, which the king and potentates of Europe could exercise." Then proceeding to consider the formation of the Federal Constitution, he asked the question: "Who were the parties, and what was the nature and design of that compact?" His answer was in these words: "The contracting parties who adopted the national form of government, were SOVEREIGN STATES. They could command the personal services, and the property of their citizens, according to their respective constitutions and laws. They could maintain fleets and armies; make war and peace; acquire or cede territory; in short, whatever a monarch in Europe could do, the several States could do, acting within constitutional limits." He then described the inducements which led these sovereign States to "make a contract or league together". Although in the course of that description he did say that for the purpose of union "it was necessary that the several states should give up some of their attributes of sovereignty", it is evident that he did not think of that surrender as being irrevocable, for he declared: "The contract entered into

<sup>8</sup> Boston Daily Advertiser, November 14 to 24, 1814.

between the states and which we call the constitution of the United States, is nothing more or less than a treaty between independent sovereigns."

The third installment contained an even more emphatic assertion of State sovereignty doctrine:

It would be unnecessary to say a word in proof of the position that the Constitution of the United States is merely a treaty between independent sovereignties, if we were not in search of principles, and maxims, which are to furnish the rule of action. The Constitution was framed by delegates, or ministers, sent from the several States. In the convention of these persons, the States, and not the individuals were considered as present. The Constitution was submitted, under the recommendation of the Legislatures of the respective States, to the people for their ratification. Throughout the instrument the contracting parties are the United States and the Individual States.

We are too prone to think that there is a distinct sovereignty known by the name of the Government of the United States, and that it exists independently of the several States. Whereas, in fact, the national compact is only an agreement entered into between the whole of the States and each individual State.

In illustration of this proposition he then enumerated certain powers which the States gave, putting along with them some of the equivalents which were to be obtained:

To carry these terms into effect, the States contracted with each other, that there should be a legislative, executive and judiciary power, dependent, however, on the State sovereignties, which power should be known as the Government of the United States. The persons who are chosen, or appointed, from time to time, to exercise the powers which are vested in that government, are merely delegates, with a limited and prescribed authority. Like all other agents, they are accountable to their constituents for the use of their power. Their constituents are the States: and it is not only the right, but the indispensable duty of the States, to inquire into every abuse or usurpation of power. That such is the nature of the treaty or compact entered into between

the several States, and that the sovereignty resides in the States, or the people of the States, may be tested by several positions.

Among the hypothetical cases which he utilized was the enactment of State laws forbidding the payment of Federal taxes and the enforcement of a Federal military conscription. "In either of these cases," he continued. "to whom is the sovereign State answerable for its acts? Will anyone deny that the State has power to enact such laws? The United States may, through its officers and agents, attempt to carry any law, however odious and unconstitutional, into effect; - and the State authorities may enact that such supposed laws shall not be carried into effect. If force were resorted to, on the part of the United States, it would be nothing more or less than war, between one sovereign State, and that power, whatever it might be, which should come with hostile intentions. The war would be conducted, like any other war, according to the law of nations. The citizens of the State taken in arms, would be prisoners of war, not traitors. would be treated as prisoners of war, and not hung as British subjects may be in our war if found with arms against their sovereign. The utmost that the United States could alledge would be, that a sovereign State had broken its treaty, however false and groundless such assertion might be."

As the last of these extracts, I wish to call particular attention to two paragraphs which appeared in a series of articles published in the leading Federalist newspaper of New England, the *Columbian Centinel*,° of Boston. They came directly after some quotations from the Massachusetts Constitution and from Paley, and are as follows:

Such would be our right to resist the established government, even were our State Sovereignties annihilated, and all the United States consolidated in one vast Empire. Such would be

Occumbian Centinel, November 21, 24, 28, 1814. The quotations are from the issue of November 28th.

our right to resist, were we natives of England, or France, or the vassals of the Russian Emperor, or of the Grand Seignior. But our duty to the general government is founded on principles more palpable, intelligible, and accurately defined; it is founded on express compact and treaty, written in characters and terms, which cannot be misunderstood. The individual States are "free, sovereign and independent" nations.— To our respective State governments our allegiance is natural, inalienable, and "founded on the will of God, as collected from expediency". But each State has entered into a solemn compact with all the other States, by which, to a certain extent, and for certain purposes, a portion of State sovereignty is ceded to a general government formed by this union. To that extent, and for those purposes, we owe obedience to the general government; to them our allegiance is secondary, qualified and conditional; to our State sovereignties it is primary, universal and absolute.

So long as the general government adhere to the provisions and powers contained in the original compact, our qualified allegiance to them, under the sanction of our State governments, continues; if they violate the terms of that compact, its validity is annihilated, and the parties to it are released from their obligations. But who shall decide whether the general government have violated the compact, and exceeded their powers? The State Sovereignties, the original parties to the compact, must decide that question. At the formation of the alliance, no common judge, or arbiter, was appointed to settle such disputes; we, as independent nations, acknowledge no natural superior who has a right to decide for us; and it would be absurd to resort to the General Government, the very party who is supposed to have done the wrong and injury, to have exceeded its legitimate powers, and to have reaped the benefit of such misconduct, to decide the question of its own guilt or innocence. The sovereign States, then, must of necessity, like all other nations, when parties to a league or treaty, have an inherent right to determine whether the terms of such compact have been violated, and its force destroyed.

These extracts seem to me very significant. They suggest much more in the way of comment than I can

#### 188 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

crowd into the little time which remains to me. Three brief observations, however, may be made:

1. They show that the writers of the radical articles, in their thinking upon the origin and character of the Federal Union, applied without qualification and in a very rigid way the doctrines and conceptions of the social com-

pact political philosophy.

2. There is in them no direct appeal to the authority of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, or to the Kentucky Resolutions of 1799, and Madison's Report of 1800. Yet it is abundantly evident from the character and even the phrasing of the arguments, as well as from other evidence, that those famous documents, and the arguments by which they were contemporaneously supported, were drawn upon with considerable freedom.

3. Neither the word nullification nor secession is to be found in the extracts or in the articles from which they were drawn. Neither of those doctrines, in the precise form in which they were afterwards championed by John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis, can be found in the extracts or the articles. But practically all of the elements out of which Calhoun and Davis constructed their nullification and secession doctrines were asserted in these New England constitutional arguments of 1814. It requires no great stretch of the imagination to suppose that, if John C. Calhoun in 1833 or Jefferson Davis in 1860 had been familiar with the newspaper articles of the radical New England Federalists of 1814, they would in debate have made effective use of that ammunition.

## ADDRESS OF WELCOME

## By JOHN LEE WEBSTER

It is very fitting that the Mississippi Valley Historical Association should hold this annual meeting in the city of Omaha. The people of no other city would take a greater interest and pride than our people will take in listening to the recitals of the transformation from the desert and wilderness to the cultivated lands of abundant and varied productions, and from the characteristics of the native aborigines of the soil to the white man's high state of civilization and culture.

The settlement of the lands from the eastern border of the Mississippi Valley to the Missouri River mark one great period of our country's progress. Another period of development which in the end will become far more important than the other is from the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast. The city of Omaha stands as a gateway of entrance to this vast western region. It is a city which is destined in the near future to become the site for great historic monuments and memorials, marking the nation's progress into the western half of the American Continent, which contains undeveloped opportunities for the creation of abundant wealth, and possibilities for trade and commerce, and for national strength and power which will surpass anything yet attained to in our national history.

From the standpoint of that history which delves into the past, and loves to dwell on the interesting things found in ruins and in romance, as well as in established facts, Omaha is not a new city. It is an old city, lately rediscovered, and newly named, and newly peopled. It is older than the excavated Pompeii and was lost to the world for nearly twenty centuries. It is older than the once thriving and busy city of Thebes. It is older than Babylon in the days when Nebuchadnezzar feasted in her hanging gardens. Omaha is a region where man lived when the world was in its infancy, in an age before the great wall of China was built, and prior to the time of the fabled siege of Troy.

From this city vast plains spread out to the westward covered with their carpet of summer green, which broaden and widen as they approach the mountain slopes, whose gray earth takes on a soft lilac color, and whose dark peaks become a deep purple as the lights and shades pass over them. It is unthinkable that time ever was, since the period of the glacial age, when the ice fields came down through the great Missouri Valley, when this region was not inhabited by man.

One of our own worthy citizens, Mr. Robert L. Gilder, delights in spending his leisure hours in delving into nature's history of the past, to find what the earth may yield up that is not yet written in the printed pages of history. Already he has furnished us with quite well authenticated proofs that man did live in this region in that far-off age of the dim and misty past. He has discovered and taken up their remains, from their earthly bed of sleep, where their bones have been at rest for so many thousands of years that man can not accurately compute their age. I am informed that the Professor of Geology of the Nebraska University has examined the place where the remains of these primeval men were discovered, and has estimated that their burial must have taken place from ten to twenty thousand years ago. Thus we have some evidence by which Omaha may well enter the field of rivalry with other cities of the world in tracing its claim to remotest antiquity.

But a far more interesting discovery has lately been made, and one which is still undergoing further investigation by a committee of scientists who will in due time make an official report of what they have found. It is a discovery that after the age of primeval man, and before the coming of the Indian tribes into this region, another more highly civilized people inhabited this vicinity. The remains of their dwellings have been found, and some of them already partially uncovered within the corporate limits of the city of Omaha and of our adjoining municipalities of South Omaha and Florence. It has been estimated that this race of intermediary people inhabited this locality during a period from twenty-five hundred to five thousand years ago.

These people did not live in tents, or tepees, nor in round or oval or barricaded wigwams as did the earlier type of Indians with which our New England and Southern people came in contact, but they lived in rectangular dwellings which were sunk into the earth after the fashion of the cellars of our present day houses. The cellars, floors, and side walls were baked by heat until they had acquired something of the hardened qualities of brick. Even at this day, when uncovered, they remain so hard that water will not percolate through them.

Below the bottoms of these baked floors caches have been found and within them has been discovered evidence that they were used as store rooms for household goods and utensils and implements. It requires no stretch of the imagination to conjecture that they may also have been used as places of refuge in times of danger from invaders or from the blasts of the tornado. It is undoubtedly true that in that early period of time, which was prior to the growth of any of the forests in this locality of which we have any present knowledge, the winds were more destructive than now, and the changes of climate more sudden and rigorous.

The extent of that population and the number of their inhabitants in this particular district have not been and may never be determined. The remains of their dwell-

ings are found beneath the surface soil of this age. Our newly created and newly peopled city is being built above what is left of the evidence of the existence of that extinct race of people. It may in time be demonstrated that here, as it is being proven by excavations in Mexico, three cities have been built each upon the ruins of the other. In any event it is now becoming quite definitely settled that the white man's civilization is the third, if not the fourth, in the period of man's evolution that has had its habitation where the city of Omaha now stands as the midway sentinel of the Republic.

There is a well authenticated tradition that the tribes of Indians from which this city takes its name were in possession of this region, and permanently occupied these surrounding lands three and a half centuries ago; at a time before the Pilgrims came, and when the Montezumas ruled in semi-civilized but regal splendor to the south of us. These Indians came at a period which was full of historic interest in Europe, yet they did not know that there was a Europe. They did not have a conception that, in a later day, a white race would come across the great waters and take possession of these lands which had been the homes of these Indians through the countless ages of the mysterious past. Yet we have in our vicinity a remnant of that ancient tribe of people; a living link connecting that remote past with our self-glorious present.

Those days have now passed into tradition. They have become the subject of romance. By reason of changed conditions they are impossible of repetition. The history of this ancient people is only to be gathered from implements and traditions and rude pictures, yet those ancient days and ancient people have for us a peculiar and fascinating interest. They were here at the beginning of our coming, and at the time when the first foundations of the modern city were laid.

The Omaha Indians were once a powerful and influ-

ential tribe that occupied and owned a large area of this great West. They were the members of a kingdom almost unlimited in extent, over which they held masterful control.

In their earliest authentic historic days they had a chieftain, Wash-in-ga-sabe, who was the white man's friend and became better known by the more attractive name of Blackbird. That Indian chieftain was a daring and intrepid warrior that feared no man and shunned no danger. He had the spirit of leadership that would have done credit to an Alexander when engaged in warfare with his common enemy, the Sioux; but he welcomed and always maintained peaceful relations with the invading white race. He appreciated and absorbed something of the commercial spirit that went with the white man's trading outposts. He encouraged the exchange and traffic in commodities between the red men and the white men, as we now exchange commodities, but in a larger degree with the brown men across the Pacific.

That Indian chieftain was here as a ruler of his kingdom when Spain claimed and exercised a sovereignty over the Mississippi Valley. As evidence of his fidelity and friendship to the Emperor of Spain and the Indies, the Spanish Governor in 1796 issued to him an interesting document written in the Spanish language, the original of which is in the possession of the Nebraska Historical Society. The translation into English reads:

The Baron de Carondelet, Knight of St. John, Field-Marshal of the Royal Armies, Governor-General, Vice Lord of the Manor of the Provinces of Louisiana and Western Florida, Sub-inspector-General of the Troops and Militias of the same.

In consideration of the proofs of fidelity and friendship which we have had from the Indian called Washinga Sabe of the Maha nation, maintaining strict union with the Spaniards, and venerating the respectable and high name of our catholic monarch (whom God preserve) Emperor of Spain and Indies, from his bravery and influence among all the neighboring nations, and

#### 194 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

from his knowledge and excellent ability to command with the skill that is required of him.

Therefore, desiring to reward such commendable qualities, we have decided to name him as chief of the Small Medal, advising him of the estimation in which he should hold it, and the obligation he is under to govern his people well, maintaining them in the quiet and respect which they owe the Spaniards, and teaching the veneration which is due to the great King of Spain. Therefore we order the commanders of the ports of this Province, officers, soldiers, and citizens to recognize him as Chief of the Small Medal. As to the Indians of his nation and others whoever they may be, they shall maintain respect and obedience due to him.

Given in New Orleans on the twelfth of May, 1796. By order of His Excellency,

Andres Lopez Arniestro,
Baron de Carondelet.

Wash-in-ga-sabe remained true to his friendship to the Spaniards, to their successors, the Frenchmen, and welcomed the trader who ventured up the Missouri in those early pioneer days. His faithful followers, obedient to his command, upon his death buried him upon Blackbird Hill, as tradition tells us, sitting upon his favorite war horse, with his face to the eastward overlooking the meandering course of the Missouri Valley.

It seems regretable that our people have been so long neglectful of what seems an obligation to construct a memorial to that Indian tribe whose name we have taken. I hope this historical meeting will stir us to immediate activity to erect, in front of this million dollar school building, an equestrian statue to that historic chieftain Wash-in-ga-sabe. It should represent him as he lived and as he died, seated on his favorite war horse with hand outstretched, gazing over the wide expanse of the Valley, tracing the meandering course of the river, watching for the approach of the white man's canoe. The contrast between the past and the present; the rude abodes of the

one and the architectural skill of the other; the semibarbarous age of the one, and the educational acquirements and culture of the other, could not be more emblematically represented. Why should not this modern city of Omaha become the site for many monuments which in marble and in bronze should chronicle the story of the discovery, the conquest, and development of the great West?

But a little more than a century ago the Lewis and Clark expedition, to which Dr. Thwaites has given a lasting place in our country's annals, passed up the Missouri River within sight of where this building stands, when on their great journey of discovery, preliminary to making an official report to the Government with regard to the great expanse of country between here and the Pacific Coast. It was but a few miles from here that Lewis and Clark held a conference with the Indian tribes, which had the primal character of a treaty of trade, of peace, and of good will. Better here, at this gateway to the West, than anywhere else, there should be erected a memorial of the beginning of that expedition into the vast wilderness, with its rivers, and its valleys, and its plains, and its mountains.

The Lewis and Clark expedition was the commencement of a series of invasions, of conquest, and of discovery, which opened to civilization nearly one-half of the American continent, and ultimately added to the American Union about one-third of its States, and which will ultimately contain one-half of its population. Since then, there followed the Astorian expedition, having for its primary purpose trade and commerce; the migration of the Mormons from Nauvoo to our adjoining city of Florence, and from thence to the far-off Utah Valley; the migration of miners to the gold fields of Colorado and of California, and the early settlers to Oregon.

There followed after these, as of necessity, the over-

land stage coach and the long wagon trains of the freighters, taking Omaha as a starting point, and going westward through the long Platte Valley, reminding us of the caravans of Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, wending their way until they crossed the Rocky Mountains and delivered their merchandise to the Western settlements. Thus the new city of Omaha became the gateway, may I repeat, of all these Western expeditions which lifted the veil from the desert, and gloom from the great West, and expanded the horizon of national vision from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean.

These pioneers are entitled to more than passing notice. They awakened the West from its primeval sleep of countless ages. Their adventures stand out as bright spots in our history. They were men who possessed the indomitable Anglo-Saxon spirit of courage and adventure. They crossed the expanse of the prairies and of the desert; they searched the solitudes; they climbed the mountains; they opened the mines; they tilled the soil; they turned the uplands into cattle ranges; they opened the country for the building of cities, where new States might be formed, and where the arts are cultivated. That which was a waste and a solitude they made a part of the empire of man, which is now ruled by the supremacy of national law.

Boston erected the justly celebrated St. Gaudens statue to the Puritan, which represents him in a standing posture with a staff in one hand, and a Bible under his arm. Why should not Omaha erect even a grander bronze monument to the pioneer, with a thrill of discovery in his eye, with the spirit of adventure and courage in his expression, with a strength of limb and body, with the gleam of hope and conquest in his features, and with a scroll in his hand on which should be written: "I have opened and redeemed the West and given it to my country for the future home of many millions of my countrymen yet to be."

In the name of the old city of Omaha, we welcome you historians. In the name of the new city of Omaha, we welcome you historians. In the name of that historic Omaha in all of its grandeur yet to be, we welcome you historians.

# AT THE MEETING OF THE TRAILS: THE ROMANCE OF A PARISH REGISTER

#### By REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

In the old Norse saga of Eric the Red, it is related that during the first decade of the eleventh century one Thorfin Karlsefni with a goodly crew of vikings undertook a voyage of discovery along the American coast, southward from Greenland. One day the exploring mariners were visited by a fleet of canoes manned by aborigines, whom the writer of the saga calls "Skrellings". Says this primitive annalist:

"They began to barter with each other. Especially did the strangers wish to buy red cloth, for which they offered in exchange peltries and quite gray skins."

As the trade proceeded, the stock of cloth grew less, and then the canny Northmen "divided it into such narrow pieces, that it was not more than a finger's breadth wide, but the Skrellings still continued to give just as much for this as before, or more."

This characteristic transaction is, so far as I am aware, the first recorded incident in the history of the American fur-trade. The traffic in furs, thus early introduced in this hemisphere, is one of the oldest of human enterprises, and has led probably to a half of the exploration in the world. In their quest for peltries within our own continent, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Russians, and Americans have pushed far the bounds of civilization, and in so doing have met hardships and perils with a fortitude that has added many thrilling incidents to the annals of heroism.

Olson's Voyages of the Northmen (Original Narratives of Early American History), Vol. I, p. 37.

The barbarians whom maritime explorers from Europe discovered along our Atlantic seaboard were a highspirited, warlike folk, who, at first welcoming the palefaced strangers, soon were strongly inclined to repel their advances into the hinterland. But the Red Indians were passionately fond of trade. From the earliest times they assiduously had practiced barter among themselves. The man who, for instance, could better than his neighbors fashion arrow-heads, war clubs, pottery, or wampum, exchanged these for such food, ornaments, dress, or other desirable articles as they made better than he. Certain villages, and indeed entire tribes, won fame for some special product or possession that was coveted by rival villages and tribes. At conveniently situated forest rendezyous, generally at the junction of two or more much-trayeled waterways, intertribal fairs were periodically held. Here bands of barbarians, widely differing in speech and manners, gathered from remote corners of a vast wilderness; and forgetful for the time of their ancient blood feuds, amicably wrangled amid endless speeches and pipesmokings, in the well-nigh vain endeavor each of winning some commercial advantage over the other.

Through uncounted centuries, the American Indian had been of the stone age. His crude dress was fashioned from the skins of wild beasts laced together with coarse sinews, and decorated with the glossy quills of the porcupine; his tools were copper or stone axes, hammers, and knives; his weapons were rude clubs and stone or copper arrow- and spear-heads; his domestic utensils consisted chiefly of clumsy earthen pots or stones hollowed either by manual or glacial abrasion; his ornaments were of shell, copper, or stone; and he adorned his skin with colored earths moistened with water.

To this man of the stone age the European trader brought brightly-colored cloths and ribbons from which, with comparative ease, might be made garments varied in hue and form, and suited to the most exacting aboriginal fancy. The trader introduced to the wilderness, also, sharp iron axes, marvelous instruments that could fell a tree for firewood in a fiftieth part of the time required by the use of blunt stone axes that laboriously crushed the tough fibre of the forest monarch. With the keen knife. hatchet, or scissors of the white man, a stick or a peltry might quickly and accurately be severed, whereas heretofore it had wearily been haggled asunder. European hoes enabled the women to cultivate their crops of maize and pumpkins more easily and effectively than had been possible with the wooden scratch-stick. The bow and arrow was but a feeble instrument of death, compared even with the thundering blunderbuss of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and either fish or enemy was more readily impaled by an iron spear than by the stone-pointed javelin of former days. The white man's pots and kettles of iron and copper were infinitely preferable, on the score of durability at least, to the fragile product of the native potter. As for ornaments, European paints were far gaver and more lasting than the crude ochres of the savage; the trader's machine-made glass and porcelain beads of a wide variety of shapes and glowing colors, obtainable by the quart, and capable of being wrought into collars, belts, and armlets of a hundred fascinating designs, were in the eyes of the barbarian far superior to the neutral-tinted wampum, each unit of which meant hours and hours of toil in snipping, boring, and polishing the refractory clamshell; and there came also from the workshops of Paris wonderful brass and silver bracelets for arms and legs, necklaces of beads and tinkling hawk's-bells, jingling metal pendants for nose and ears, huge brooches of colored glass, brass finger rings, ostrich and cock's plumes that in dashing gayety quite outrivaled the eagle's wing, fancy combs, hand mirrors, perfumes, and - for decorating the breasts of chiefs and head-men — glistening silver medals, bearing the portrait in low relief of the mysterious and powerful Great Father of the Whites, who lived in the land whence came the rising sun.

Small wonder is it that, yielding to this wealth of lure, the barter-loving barbarian allowed his innate opposition to the white man gradually to weaken; that in large measure forsaking his native fields, the semi-agricultural Indian quickly relapsed into the hunter stage in order to obtain peltries, the only aboriginal product for which might be bartered the weapons, dress, conveniences, and ornaments of far-off Europe.

Heretofore the barbarians had hunted chiefly for food, utilizing the skins of their quarry but for bedding or as coverings to their wigwams and their own nakedness. Under such primitive conditions the chase preserved a desirable numerical balance between the men and the beasts of the wilderness; but by inducing a system of wholesale slaughter solely for the peltries, the fur-traffic of the Europeans gradually destroyed this normal relation.

The trade had at first been coastwise. But there soon arose a scarcity of game on the seaboard. The number of skins brought in by coastal hunters soon became insufficient for this rapidly growing commerce. The inland tribes must now be discovered, and through attractive promises persuaded to turn peltry seekers. News of the apparently simple method of obtaining European goods spread rapidly into the interior; the cupidity of its tribesmen was aroused, and traders were eagerly invited to penetrate to the forest villages and hunting camps with their bulging packs of cloths, utensils, firearms, and gewgaws.

But the barbarian was fickle. His treatment of a trader guest was not continuously hospitable. Cupidity and race hatred sometimes weakened the native spirit of welcome. The goods and the person of the fur-trader must need therefore be in some measure guarded, for thieves and murderers occasionally beset him. Pressing

necessity led to the establishment of more or less formidable blockhouses and palisades in the heart of the Indian country. It was also found desirable to build, here and there, still more strongly-fortified posts, each with a small detachment of soldiers and serving as a commercial as well as military centre for the region roundabout. Hither, in times of great emergency, the fur-traders might retire from their field stations, when these did not afford sufficient protection; and from such a stout stronghold of logs or stone, punitive expeditions were dispatched against offending tribesmen.

One of the earliest of these strong outposts of the furtrading colony of New France was Mackinac — or, as it was styled by the aborigines and the French, Michilimackinac. In times of primitive warfare and commerce, Mackinac easily commanded the navigation of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior. The power that, in the heyday of the fur-trade, held this stronghold and its neighboring shores, was virtually in military and commercial possession not only of the wide-spreading hinterland of the upper Great Lakes; but of such part of the vast fur-bearing area of the Arctic basin as was approachable through the intricate chain of lakes, rivers, and portage paths connecting Lake Superior with what we now know as the Canadian Northwest.

Throughout the greater part of the period of French occupancy, the fort of Mackinac and its outlying hamlet of traders and *voyageurs* was situated not on the island of that name, but on the mainland, either to the north or to the south of the straits, as circumstances warranted. A Jesuit mission chapel, doubtless guarded by a palisaded wall of logs and surrounded by a few French-Canadian cabins, had indeed occupied the island for some two years, between 1670 and 1672; but not until 1780, a hundred and twenty years later, under the British régime, did the island itself again become a residence for the whites.

From that day to our own the name Mackinac has almost wholly been associated with the island.

Under the successive flags of France, England, and America, Mackinac — on island or mainland, according to date — was the principal entrepôt of a far-flung fur-traffic that ranged from the wilderness of Athabasca and Great Slave Lake southeastward to Georgian Bay, and from Lake Winnipeg to the middle reaches of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. This wide region now holds a dozen prosperous States of the Union, as well as several rapidlydeveloping provinces of the neighboring Dominion. Up to a century and a quarter ago, however, it was roamed freely by nearly a score of tribes of painted and warlike barbarians, who chiefly were engaged in seeking peltries to satisfy the commercial greed of a few small handfuls of men of European stock. The fur-trading whites and their relatives and retainers, the near-whites, were widelyscattered. Many were almost perpetual wanderers, roving with their packs and canoes between one Indian camp and another; others were rudely domiciled at such more or less permanent hamlets as Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, and La Pointe; still more had relatively habitual homes within or neighboring the little fortified trading stations that were thinly dispersed throughout the drainage basins of the Upper Lakes, the Upper Mississippi, and the far-off Arctic-flowing waters. But, wherever found, traders, half-breeds, and Indians alike acknowledged the social, political, military, and ecclesiastical domination of the metropolis of Mackinac.

We have many welcome glimpses of early conditions at this interesting and once powerful wilderness post, that lay at the meeting of a half-hundred watery trails. Some of these conditions are conveyed to us through such letters and journals of fur-traders, military officers, and travelers as have survived to this day; others, through social reminiscences of old-time islanders, like the late Mrs.

Baird.<sup>2</sup> In the State historical publications of Michigan and of Wisconsin is abundant material of this sort for the construction of fairly accurate pictures of perhaps most phases of life at Mackinac, under conditions there obtaining in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and first third of the nineteenth centuries.

One phase of Mackinac life, however, has until quite recently been but scantily set forth in these documents. That is, life as seen by the Catholic missionary priests who, from the earliest period of Mackinac history, have therein played so important a part. To some extent, at least, this defect has now been remedied. Volumes XVIII and XIX of the Wisconsin Historical Collections contain in translation and, it is believed, with sufficient explanatory annotation, a human document that brings new light to bear on certain social relations that long obtained at Mackinac and throughout the vast areas that ranked as its dependencies. I refer to the register of baptisms, marriages, and interments kept at the little parish church of St. Ignace de Michilimakinak during the greater part of the century and a quarter stretching from 1695 to 1821.

Commencing in Count Frontenac's second term as Governor of New France, this artless chronicle continues through the remainder of the French régime. In the first half century, its pages must have been worn to shreds through frequent consultation; for about the year 1741 the entries were, in abbreviated form, transferred to a new volume, the one which, with frayed edges and much discoloration, has survived to the present day. This second register was maintained intact throughout the brief but interesting period of English domination (1761-1796), and comes down to that time when the American Fur Company was at the height of its power and held the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Baird's Reminiscences of Early Days in Mackinac Island in Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIV.

Island of Mackinac as though it were of the private demesne of John Jacob Astor.

During the greater part of the French rule, the resident missionary priests at Mackinac were Jesuits, who herein entered of record their varied and self-sacrificing service in behalf of a parish territorially almost half the size of Europe. The British, and subsequently the Americans, brought to this parish changes of political mastery, but the religious creed of Mackinac and its dependencies suffered no alteration; and beyond the introduction of a sprinkling of English, Scotch, American, and Jewish traders and their clerks, the fur-trade was still conducted by Catholic French-Canadians in much the same manner as of old. Under the Anglo-American régimes, ecclesiastical ministrations were less regular, however, for only an occasional call was now expected at Mackinac from some itinerating father — for the first few years a Jesuit; but subsequently a secular priest, usually dispatched thither from Detroit. Under such conditions, the register came to be the parish record book not only of the visiting priest; but in his absence, of royal notary, justice of the peace, or military commandant, as such officials were, probably in cases of dire necessity, occasionally pressed into service for the performance of civil marriages and lay baptisms.

In a sense, these primitive annals furnish to the historian an epitome of life and manners in the "Upper Country", as Mackinac and its dependencies were collectively styled by the men of New France. In so brief a paper as the present, it is practicable only to present an outline of the possibilities of the register in this direction, with such brief preliminary account of the Northwestern fur-trade as may serve to exhibit to the reader the relation thereto of the post and parish of Mackinac.

It must be remembered that St. Ignace was a missionary parish, whose congregation might roughly be divided into two classes — first, those more or less permanently resident at the little French-Canadian fortified hamlet of Mackinac; and second, those who because of the exigencies of the fur-trade were scattered throughout the wilderness, perhaps a thousand miles distant from the strait. The opportunities of this latter class to participate in the ministrations of the church were chiefly confined to occasional visits to Mackinac, often years apart. Whites constituted but a small percentage of the parishioners, and were mostly of the military, official, and bourgeois classes. The blood of by far the greater number was liberally commingled with that of the red barbarians; indeed, many of those professing the faith of the cross were Indians in whose veins was no perceptible strain of European contact.

The portion of the register devoted to baptisms is perhaps the most fertile in its suggestions as to the varied social and racial conditions confronting the backwoods apostle of Christian civilization. Baptism upon the date of, or the day after, the child's birth is not uncommon, the missionary explaining that this is done because of fear of its early death. That such apprehension was justified, is evident from the pages devoted to interments, for both in the woods and at Mackinac village infant mortality appears to have been excessive.

Occasionally an epidemic sweeps through the ranks of both red and white parishioners, as when in October and November, 1757, smallpox is decimating the tribesmen. We can trace the course on such occasion of the blackgowned Father Lefranc as by canoe or afoot he wearily hurries between the native villages, bearing a sack containing his vestments, sacred altar vessels, and religious pictures; and, in his eagerness to save expiring souls, baptizing infants and adults indiscriminately. Usually, his records are but formal entries of baptisms and subsequent deaths, but in their very simplicity these are eloquently suggestive of the tragic scenes in which he daily walks.

Now and then, however, there escapes into his memorandum a triumphant note, as he assures the possible future reader of the chronicle that the victims of the pestilence have been saved from perdition, for they "had promised me to live as Christians."

Not infrequently is it mentioned that the baptized child of a voyageur was born "in the woods", or at a "wintering place". Sometimes such place is roughly defined as "on the Mississippi", "on the Ouisconsin", "at Nipissing", "at Nipigon", "beyond Lake Superior", "on Rainy Lake", or "in the direction of Matchidak". Now and then the date of birth is given, but often the time is uncertain - as "last winter", "last year", or "about ten years ago". This last-mentioned entry is typical, especially for those long periods when religious services were but spasmodically held at the wilderness metropolis. Announcement of an expected priestly visitation, when the missionary would tarry at the island for perhaps a month or even for a quarter-year, appears to have been distributed by means of swift Indian runners, around the Great Lakes and to the most distant huntingcamps and fur-trade stations in the depth of the almost impenetrable forest. On receipt of such gladsome news, entire families would hasten to Mackinac in canoes, or in the more spacious bateaux, to receive churchly sanction to their several domestic relations. Frequently the mother was an Indian, or a half-breed; her baptism was first effected, then that of her children, often several in number — in order, says the entry, that the young people may "be legitimized by the marriage [of the parents] to be performed shortly".

In the marriage section of the register, there are numerous records of common-law unions in the northwest woods. Prefacing the statement of his own church ceremony, the ecclesiast not infrequently sets forth with evident care that at some previous date specified, the couple had promised each other, "as they could not do otherwise owing to there being no priest, to take advantage of the first opportunity to have their marriage validated and thus legitimize" the following specified children. In 1787, for instance, appears the case of a couple who "many years ago" had "pledged to each other the hope of having their marriage ratified by" a priest; and now at last they are able to come to Mackinac and realize this long-deferred ambition.

The harsh conditions of wilderness life and travel in New France were such that social arrangements of this irregular sort appear, from the register, to have been commonly regarded by the missionaries as unavoidable; therefore were recorded by them with entire complacency. In her effort to introduce among her heterogeneous peoples of the far frontier at least some of the elements of the social order of civilization, Mother Church sensibly accepted an inevitable situation and decently made the best of it.

In many cases, the church had long to wait. Not infrequently a comparison of the marriage register with that of the baptismal reveals the fact that ecclesiastical blessings on the parental union followed long years after the baptism of the offspring. Again, the register chronicles the baptisms of many children who frankly could not be legitimized — the offspring of unknown fathers, whose names the discreet priest has not too diligently sought; or of fathers whose names are herein entered of record, but who belong "in the woods".

Some of these children of unchurched forest unions appear virtually to have been castaways, considerately adopted into the families of the kindly French. As when, in 1744, Father du Jaunay baptizes at Mackinac little six-year-old Marie Josephe, "natural daughter of one l'ésperance, an apostate at la pointe", who has been adopted by the good Sieur L'Écuyer. And in 1820, when Madame

George Schindler, a noted woman fur-trader of the region, receives into her hospitable household and "holds over the baptismal font" the infant Lucille, daughter of "a woman savage" and of the once-famous "white Indian", John Tanner. Tanner had been captured as a child in Kentucky, had lived for thirty years in the northern wilderness, and was now returning to civilization, in company with his half-breed progeny.

For the most part, the mothers are Indians or halfbreeds of two sorts - converts to the faith, or slaves owned by French-Canadians. Indeed, the register frequently reveals the presence of Indian slaves in this primitive community. Such persons usually were obtained by purchase from neighboring Indians, who in turn had secured them by barter or through warfare from weaker tribes to the southward. Their economic and social status was akin only in name to that of the Southern blacks. The Indian pani was more in the nature of a bond servant; his baptism was scrupulously recorded, and he was held by his master in semi-feudal ties of affectionate interest and reciprocal service. We now and then find French voyageurs being united in marriage with panis. In the list of interments, note is made that a slave was carefully laid to eternal rest beside her mistress; and there is an entry of the baptism of "a young slave about seven years old, given to this mission last year out of gratitude by Mr. the Chevalier de la Vérendrye on his return from the extreme West" wherein we have welcome proof of a visit to Mackinac by a member of the famous fur-trading family of Vérendryes, the discoverers of the western mountains.

With the advent of the British, we find in the baptismal register evidence of the presence of negro slaves, servants to the military officers; although as early as 1743, twenty years before the treaty of Paris, a negro and a negress had been baptized at Mackinac — the servants of a Frenchman of consequence, "Sieur Boutin, who is

obliged to winter here on his way to illinois"; which circumstance reminds us that Mackinac was at that time a port of call on the long and much-traveled waterway connecting the French province of Quebec with the outposts of Upper Louisiana.<sup>3</sup>

Now and then the register states that the person receiving baptism had at some previous date been baptized "conditionally"—that is, by some lay person, usually a relative, at a time or place when a priest was not available; and now, often after the lapse of years, a person in holy orders repeats the ceremony. A few such lay baptisms, chiefly by civil or military officials, are contemporaneously recorded in the register itself; as when the British Governor, Patrick Sinclair, in the presence of fellow officers and several leading fur-traders, baptizes a child "according to the due and prescribed order of the church".

The marriage register is not as fruitful in material for a study of social conditions, as is that of baptisms; but on the whole it is of a more cheerful character. So far as possible, obstacles were removed. For instance, dispensation from the publication of all three of the bans is frequent, the missionary being usually content with two or one or sometimes none. For the most part, unions con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In 1794 there is recorded in the register the marriage of Jean Bonga and Marie Jeanne, a free negro couple in the employ of Captain Robertson, "Commandant of Michilimakinac and dependences." At the time of this event they were possessed of at least two daughters, aged fourteen and eight respectively, who already had been baptized by the reverend fathers; there is some evidence of a considerable family besides. One of their sons, a furtrader with an aboriginal wife and several children having "curled hair and glossy skins", was met in 1820 by Schoolcraft at the western end of Lake Superior; and a dozen years later two of these African-Indian grand-children were fur-trade employees, with Indian wives, in the Red River country of the northwest. — Schoolcraft's Narrative Journal of Travels from Detroit Northwest, etc. (Albany, N. Y., 1821), p. 202; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 159, 560. Jean Bonga died at Mackinac in 1795. Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIX, pp. 157 and passim.

summated at the altar of St. Ignace were necessarily those of humble folk:

"François louis Cardin, a soldier of this garrison, and of marie Coussante Chevalier, a widow." The number of widows who appear on these pages as brides suggests not only desertions, but the tragedies of the wilderness—the lives of explorers, fur-traders, voyageurs, and soldiers sacrificed to camp diseases, drowning, the assaults of Indians, or others of the thousand dangers that constantly lurked upon the forest trails.

"Jean Manian l'esperance and of Rose, a Sauteux [Chippewa] woman Savage of la pointe, recently Baptized." Soldiers frequently married native women, but in such cases it is commonly stated that they have received their captain's consent. Indian slaves married each other, or joined their fortunes with those of free members of the community. Among the French of the Upper Country, color was no hindrance to conjugal union; there is here of record every possible combination of red and white and even black.

Occasionally occurs a wedding of persons of considerable social importance in this far-away community. At 10 p. m. of June 4, 1752, the priest makes entry of the blessed union of Etienne Chesnier of La Chine and Esther Chevalier of Montreal — apparently visitors to the post:

"In the presence of M<sup>r</sup> du plessis, first Captain of a company of a detachment of the marine, knight of the royal and military order of St. Louis and in person commanding for the king at michilmakinak, and of M<sup>r</sup> de vollemonde de beaujour, Captain of a company of the same detachment of the marine and commanding for the king at Camanitigouia, of monsieur d'anglade and Couronat and others, witnesses, relatives, who signed with me."

It is not difficult to fancy the scene. The Mackinac of those days lay upon the southern shore of the strait, among sand-dunes not far west of the present Mackinaw City. Evidently the late hour was selected in order that the ceremony might be held by artificial light, for in that northern latitude dusk comes tardily in June. It is likely that the little log church was resplendent with the flare of pine-knot torches and the glimmer of scores of candles moulded from bear's oil. The youthful officers of the garrison, supporting the groom, no doubt were lined up by the rail, smartly uniformed in the steel-grey coats with blue-and-white facing that King Louis prescribed for his marine corps. Near-by, we may see the civil dignitaries of the hamlet, including the royal notary, also those aristocrats of the fur-trade, the local bourgeois. Among them, signing as a witness. Charles de Langlade, who two years later was to lead the savage host who slaughtered Braddock, and ten years thereafter to give distinction to the half-century-old Creole settlement of Green Bay, by there establishing himself as its principal citizen. And mingling with these, military visitors from the head of Lake Superior and possibly far beyond, friends of the bride or groom, who each surely was tricked out in such wedding finery as might be produced from the slender resources of this wilderness post.

It may be supposed that the grassy slope behind the dunes, together with the garrison garden, yielded flowers for the bridal bouquet, and that branches of cherry blossoms, still the chiefest pride of Mackinac, decked the moss-chinked walls. In all likelihood such of the rude puncheoned benches as were unoccupied by quality, were filled with privates and non-commissioned officers in the king's well-brushed livery, with voyageurs in varied hues of scarf and jacket and cap, and with moccasined habitans in more sombre but not less picturesque array; while crowding the doors and peering through the windows were, I doubt not, scores of dusky forms — Ottawa, Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Huron — masked in solemn vis-

age, but at heart as eager as children to witness the paleface festival.

We can fancy, I think with some approach to truth, the measured cadence of the mass, savage and half-breed lads hovering about the altar as red-robed acolytes, the pungent odor of the swinging censers, the tinkling of the bell, the nasal drone of the hybrid choir, the blessings and charge of the vested priest, the boisterous salutations of the bride, the procession homeward in the wake of the village fiddler, the night-long revelry of bridal guests. A dozen scrawling lines in the register, in the crabbed hand of Father Lamorinie, alone informs us of the twentieth century as to that social event of the season at old Mackinac, a hundred and fifty-one years ago.

Nuptial agreements and marriage contracts between people of dignity such as these, are sometimes in sonorous phrase set forth at length on the pages of the time-worn register; elaborate documents these, chiefly concerned with matters of inheritance. For example, it is recorded that in the afternoon of New Year's Day, 1779, Father Payet was "called upon by Sieur Charles Gaultier de Vierville, Lieutenant Captain and interpreter of the King for the savages, son of Claude Germain de Vierville and of Therese Villeneuve, his father and mother deceased: and by Magdeleine Chevalier, daughter of the late Pascal Chevalier and of Magdeleine Larcheveque, her Mother, to confirm the Union that a virtuous love induces them to contract together, to prepare them to crown the flame that a Mutual Affection has kindled in their hearts, before our mother the Holy Church, whereof they are members and in whose bosom they wish to live and die. . . . The future consorts - not content with the happy Union they are about to contract unless they secure for themselves harmony, repose, and sweet Comfort until the last moment of their lives - wish and consent unanimously in order to enjoy without trouble the happiness they expect, that their Property be possessed with full and entire enjoyment by the survivor after the demise of either of them, and by these presents they set aside all claims and pretensions that may be set up by their own children, should heaven grant their desires by giving such worthy fruits of their mutual love; unless, however, the survivor should wish to enter into another alliance, in which case the contracting party shall be responsible to the children, the Heirs, for their share in the said Heritage. But if Heaven, deaf to their prayers, refuses them lawful Heirs, the survivor shall dispose of the whole according to his or her will and Good pleasure, without being molested by the relative of either party. The last wish of the future wife is that the said husband shall at once participate in all her rights."

Although chiefly concerned with the ministrations of the Church, the register now and then records some other phase of human interest. An anonymous entry under date of December 13, 1791, sets forth in simple phrase the outlines of an inland tragedy: "about seven o'clock in the morning, Jean Louis Carignan, Esquire, superintendent of inland navigation at Michilimakina and notary Public of the said Post, was drowned in Lake Michigan while going to fish with his hired man, Jean Bte. Dubois, who was saved as well as several persons who were unable to give him assistance."

Carignan, a Canadian fifty-four years of age, had, with his efficient wife Felicité, arrived in Mackinac some time during the Revolutionary War, and they had speedily become prominent in the neighborhood of the straits. Carignan easily won the highest of civil offices in the community—that of churchwarden, notary public, clerk of a certain court of inquiry held in 1787, and, as we see, superintendent of inland navigation: whatever may have been the duties of such an official. The drowning of a

man of that type was a distinct loss to this primitive little hamlet, thus an event justifying the unusual record.

One is tempted to dwell in much greater detail than the present opportunity affords, upon the illuminating pages of this old Mackinac register, which for a century and a quarter recorded the spiritual yearnings, the worldly hopes, the loves, the trials, and the tragedies of that picturesque post at the meeting of the wilderness trails. I can here but hint at some of the many angles of view from which the historian finds this contemporary record of practical interest and value. Read aright, it tells the story of a time when the adventurous French were coquetting with the barbarians of the early American border; when black-gowned parish priests were seeking deftly, unobtrustively, yet insistently, to substitute for social lawlessness the conventions of Christendom. Its pages reveal to us, in passing phrase, who commanded for the King at other posts as well as this. The rank and position of historical characters in this region are often here obtainable, as from time to time they appear at the altar rail in the capacity of godfathers to the baptized, as witnesses to marriage records, or as participants in sundry other ministrations of the church. The official arrangements during interregnums, or periods between different military occupations, are frequently set forth - as when Pontiac's savage conspiracy had expelled every British soldier from the Upper Lakes. We learn from its pages of the sojourn upon the straits of many a character elsewhere famous in American history - as when good Father Pierre Gibault, to become in later years the friend and coadjutor of George Rogers Clark at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, while on his way to the Illinois twice tarries here to minister to the variegated congregation of Mackinac and its dependencies. We note the easy transition to American government, as the pompous Frenchman, Adhemar St. Martin, long "one of his Britanic majesty's justices of the peace", complacently continues his record as "one of the justices of the peace of the United States." Unconscious evidence is here found, of the coming of Scotch traders to the Northwest, under the auspices of the great semi-feudal fur corporations that headquartered in We discover the early advent also, under British rule, of Jewish fur merchants, chiefly the Solomon family, who appear soon to have been completely absorbed into the old-time life of the Upper Country, and to figure prominently on the pages of this Catholic register as husbands of French and half-breed women and as partakers of and sponsors for baptism. And finally, as the musty volume draws to a close, we mark the powerful domination of the straits by the American Fur Company, whose dour and doughty agents, Robert Stuart and Ramsay Crooks, vigorously conducted from Mackinac Island a large proportion of the widespread traffic that made John Jacob Astor the American Croesus of his times.

The summer visitor to Mackinac Island, now a playground of the nation, may still curiously examine in the modern parish church of Ste. Anne this time-stained register of St. Ignace de Michilimakinak. He will find that its language is French, its idioms occasionally those of Normandy — for the blood of the vikings coursed in the veins of a goodly proportion of the Jesuit missionaries of New France — and frequently its priestly script is difficult to decipher. Should be ponder over the volume's thousand signatures (names that one may to-day constantly encounter on the trade-signs of Quebec or of Montreal), he will find a wide range of interest: at one extreme, the delicate renaissance chirography of Father Coquart, and the bold. clerkly hand of Father Gibault; at the other, the frequent cross of the voyageur, the barbarian mother, and the pani, whose inability to write their names is carefully stated.

The charms of the little city of the strait are now commercialized and thus in large degree vulgarized; nev-

ertheless it has a few remaining literary attractions, chief among which is this olden chronicle. It is almost inevitable, from the conditions under which the register is kept, that some day a brief dispatch from Mackinac will announce the volume's destruction by fire. Such a calamity, however, would arouse the less regret from the fact that laboriously deciphered, translated into English, annotated, and printed, these simple and eloquent annals of the once famous wilderness post are to-day the common property of American historical scholarship, and in that form may with ease be examined in a half thousand libraries scattered through the length and breadth of two continents.

# THE NEW MADRID AND OTHER EARTHQUAKES IN MISSOURI

#### By Francis A. Sampson

Slight shocks of earthquakes are not uncommon in the United States, but the three most prominent have been at New Madrid, Charleston, and San Francisco. Had New Madrid been a city like either of the others, the earthquake there would have been the best known and the most terrible of the three.

New Madrid was on the Mississippi River, sixty miles south of the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi. A trading post was started in 1783 by François and Joseph Le Sieur, and in 1788 General Morgan of New Jersey laid out a pretentious town there. In 1811 it was a large town, St. Louis being the only larger one in what is now Missouri.

The settlement at La Petite Prairie (Little Prairie) was begun in 1794, by Francois Le Sieur, a little below the present town of Caruthersville, in Pemiscot County, and about thirty miles below New Madrid. In 1803 the village had 103 inhabitants, and continued to increase until the earthquake almost entirely destroyed it. Its site was long since carried away by the Mississippi River. McBride found there some twenty houses, and a settlement extending six or eight miles back from the river.

The country affected by the earthquake extended from the mouth of the Ohio to the St. Francis River, a front of three hundred miles or more. In this territory the effects were so great that they were still visible a half century later, and in lesser degree they were felt even to the Atlantic Coast.

<sup>1</sup> History of Southeast Missouri (Chicago, 1888), p. 300.

There is a popular belief that a close connection exists between volcanoes and earthquakes, but many noted earthquakes have occurred far distant from volcanoes. Those of Calabria, of Cutch, of Charleston, and of the Reviera, as well as that of New Madrid, were not in volcanic regions. Others have occurred at the same time as violent volcanic eruptions, sometimes in the same part of the country, and sometimes at a distance without occurring at places near-by. The night that was conspicuous for subterranean thunder at New Madrid was the same time as the fearful Caraccas earthquake, where thousands of the people were crushed beneath the ruins of their stone houses, although the concussions were probably not more violent than in the Mississippi Valley.<sup>2</sup> Humboldt states that the shocks at New Madrid were the only examples on record of the ground quaking almost incessantly for three months at a point so far from an active volcano.

As the country was so sparsely settled at the time of the earthquake it would not be expected that as full accounts of it would be preserved as if it were a well settled locality, but the State Historical Society of Missouri is fortunate in having in its library the statements given by many persons who experienced the earthquake, or by persons who soon after visited the locality and recorded the accounts of those who were witnesses of the events narrated by them. This paper is written from such records—those that can be rated as original sources of information. There are accounts of the earthquake in various books, magazines, and newspapers, that are not here quoted, since they generally do not refer to authorities for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Flint's Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley (Boston, 1826), p. 22. His account is also given in Foster's Mississippi Valley.

See also Hildreth's History of An Early Voyage on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, With Historical Sketches in The American Pioneer (Chillicothe, Ohio, 1842), p. 128.

what they tell; this is especially noticeable in an account published in the *Popular Science Monthly*, and written by one connected with the United States Geological Survey, in which no authority is given.

Among perhaps the most competent observers of the earthquake was John Bradbury, an Englishman then traveling in this country, who arrived at New Madrid by boat on the evening of December 14, 1811, and the evening of the next day reached Devil's Channel, below the Upper Chickasaw Bluffs, where the boat tied up at a small island, and where he first experienced the earthquake.<sup>3</sup>

L. Bringier was near New Madrid, traveling on horseback, at the time of the earthquake, and soon after wrote of it.

Colonel John Shaw was thirty miles north of New Madrid at the beginning of the earthquake, and was for days a witness to what he recorded.<sup>5</sup>

William Leigh Pierce was on a boat from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, entered the Mississippi December 13th, and on the evening of the 15th tied up to the shore below New Madrid, at a point which he states was 116 miles from the mouth of the Ohio, but which was probably less than that. In a letter written from "Big Prairie", dated December 25, 1811, to the New York Evening Post, he gave an account of the earthquake. This letter and a later one, with letters from two other persons to other papers were published in a pamphlet at Newburyport, Massachusetts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Bradbury's Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811. Second edition, London, 1819, p. 207. Thwaites's edition, Early Western Travels, Vol. V, p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> Bringier's Notices of the Geology of the Regions Around the Mississippi and Its Confluent Waters, in a letter to Rev. Elias Cornelius, in the American Journal of Science and Arts, 1821, Vol. III, p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Shaw's New Madrid Earthquake in the Second Annual Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1855. Reprinted in the Missouri Historical Review, January, 1912, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> Pierce's An Account of the Great Earthquake in the Western States,

Eliza Bryan lived at New Madrid before and during the earthquake, and in a letter dated March 22, 1816, to Rev. Lorenzo Dow, the evangelist, she gave an account of her experiences in it.<sup>7</sup>

James McBride with others was taking supplies from Ohio to New Orleans by two boats. The first shocks occurred while they were in the Ohio River. When they reached New Madrid they moored their boats where a part of the town had been, but was now a part of the river, and noticed coffins exposed along the bank. McBride went on shore with difficulty, and went some two miles back from the river. All the houses, although built of logs, were prostrated or nearly overturned and wrecked. He found three Frenchmen who were sheltering themselves by some boards taken from the buildings, and they were the only inhabitants left. On April 1, 1812, he wrote to his aunt in Pennsylvania, from a place above Natchez.

Dr. Foster, while traveling on the Mississippi, met a Mr. A. N. Dillard, who lived near New Madrid, who was a witness of the earthquake, and who related to him his experiences and observations in it. Foster also visited the locality and talked with other persons.

Dr. Hildreth's account of the earthquake was given him by one, who at the time of its occurrence was about forty miles below New Madrid on a flat boat on his way to New Orleans.<sup>10</sup>

Particularly in the Mississippi River, December 16-23, 1811. Collected from facts. Newburyport, 1812.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Bryan's History of Cosmopolite, or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow. Eighth edition (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 344. Also in History of Southeast Missouri (Chicago, 1888), p. 344.

<sup>8</sup> McBride's Down the Mississippi in the Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Vol. V, No. 1, January-March, 1910.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Foster's The Mississippi Valley: Its Physical Geography (Chicago, 1869), p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Hildreth's History of an Early Voyage on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, With Historical Sketches in The American Pioneer (Chillicothe, Ohio, 1842), p. 128.

## 222 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Professor Broadhead's account of the earthquake is made up largely of quotations from the publications mentioned in the accompanying notes and references.<sup>11</sup>

Timothy Flint was not in the earthquake, but he and his family spent the winter of 1819-1820 at New Madrid, where he talked with many persons who related the facts, and his account is from what he saw and heard.<sup>12</sup>

Michael Brounm lived in Pemiscot County a half mile from the center of disturbance, and his account is given in the history of an adjoining county.<sup>18</sup>

Godfrey Le Sieur, the son of François Le Sieur, the founder of Little Prairie, was in the earthquake, and he wrote an account of it in 1871 for Professor A. D. Hagar, formerly State Geologist of Missouri.<sup>14</sup>

Sir Charles Lyell visited New Madrid and vicinity in 1846, and conversed with many persons who were there during the earthquake. He visited the former Lake Eulalie, and talked with Mr. W. Hunter, the owner of it.<sup>15</sup>

Wetmore gave an account of a Mr. Walker, a "field naturalist", accompanied by a Frenchman of Little Prairie. His account, in part at least, was doubtless also derived from other persons who were in the earthquake. 16

Fagots from the Camp Fire was an account of the earthquake as given to the author by a woman whose father was in the earthquake; but the account bears evidence of having been made up rather by the author than

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Broadhead's The New Madrid Earthquake in the American Geologist (August, 1902), p. 76. Also pamphlet reprint of the same.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Flint's Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley (Boston, 1826), p. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Brounm's account of the earthquake in Smyth-Davis's History of Dunklin County, Missouri, 1845-1895, p. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Le Sieur's letter to A. D. Hagar, former State Geologist of Missouri in Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri (St. Louis, 1874), p. 394.

<sup>15</sup> Lyell's Second Visit to the United States of North America, Vol. II. p. 172.

<sup>16</sup> Wetmore's Gazetteer of the State of Missouri (St. Louis, 1837), p. 131.

by the widow whose hospitality he was sharing during the Civil War, but at the same time he was thinking more of his belief that she was scheming to have him captured by the Confederates than of recording the story of this earthquake.<sup>17</sup>

Rozier in his History of the Early Settlements of the Mississippi Valley has the accounts as given by Lewis F. Linn, Henry Howe in his Great West, and Le Sieur.<sup>18</sup>

John J. Audubon, the naturalist, at the time of the earthquake was traveling in Kentucky on horseback; and in his Journal tells of his experiences.<sup>19</sup>

Professor Shepard's theory of the cause of the earthquake will be noticed later.<sup>20</sup>

The first shock of the earthquake was at two o'clock, A. M., on December 16, 1811.<sup>21</sup> A half hour after the first shock there was another as severe, and others followed six to ten minutes apart. By daylight twenty-seven shocks had occurred. In the morning several more severe ones occurred, and on the 17th there were three others still more severe, at five, seven, and twelve o'clock.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Fagots from the Camp Fire by "The Newspaper Man", fourth edition, Washington, 1881, p. 179.

<sup>18</sup> Rozier's History of the Early Settlement of the Mississippi Valley (St. Louis, 1890), p. 198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Audubon's Journal. His account is quoted in Rozier's History of the Early Settlement of the Mississippi Valley (St. Louis, 1890), p. 208; it is also given in St. John's Life of Audubon (1856), p. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Shepard's The New Madrid Earthquake in The Journal of Geology, Vol. XIII, No. 1, January-February, 1905. Also pamphlet reprint.

<sup>21</sup> Le Sieur's letter to A. D. Hagar, former State Geologist of Missouri in Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri (St. Louis, 1874), p. 394; Bryan's History of Cosmopolite, or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow, eighth edition (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 344; Bradbury's Travels in the Interior of America in the Nears 1809, 1810, and 1811 (second edition, London, 1819), p. 207; Thwaites's edition, Early Western Travels, Vol. V, p. 204); Hildreth's History of an Early Voyage on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, With Historical Sketches in The American Pioneer (Chillicothe, Ohio, 1842), p. 128.

Pierce says about midnight; and Shaw says two o'clock, A. M., December 14th.

<sup>22</sup> Bradbury's Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810,

#### 224 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Lighter shocks were felt afterwards until January 23rd, when there was one as violent as any.<sup>23</sup> The earth was in continual agitation, visibly waving as a gentle sea until February 4th, and on the 7th at four o'clock, a. m., there was one more violent than any which had preceded, which was called the "hard shock".<sup>24</sup> This was so severe as far away as St. Louis that fowls fell from the trees and crockery fell from shelves. Miss Bryan, writing in March, 1816, said that the shocks had continued to that time, and that during the preceding winter two had occurred that were more severe than any others had been for two years previous.

Jared Brooks at Louisville seems to have kept an account of the number of shocks felt at that place, and to have divided them into six classes according to intensity; in the thirteen weeks following the first shock he recorded eight of the greatest severity, ten of the second class, and in all a total of 1874 shocks.<sup>25</sup>

A letter in the *Louisiana Gazette* from Cape Girardeau, dated February 15, 1812, stated that the shock of February 7th at that place was more violent than that of December 16, and lasted longer, the earth being in con-

and 1811. Second edition, London, 1819, p. 207; Thwaites's edition, Early Western Travels, Vol. V, p. 204.

<sup>23</sup> Bryan's History of Cosmopolite, or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow, eighth edition (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 344.

Shaw does not mention any shocks between the first one and this one, which he says was at two o'clock, A. M., and which was the greater shock.

<sup>24</sup> Bryan's History of Cosmopolite, or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow, eighth edition (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 344.

Le Sieur says that one made deep lakes of high land.

<sup>25</sup> MacMurtrie's Sketches of Louisville and Its Environs, added as an appendix containing an account of the earthquakes experienced here from the 16th of December, 1811, to the 7th of February, 1812, extracted principally from the papers of the late J. Brookes. Louisville, 1819.

Pierce gives a list of eighty-nine shocks from the 16th to the 23rd, but also mentions that on the 17th there was a continued series of shocks with very little intermission.

stant motion for an hour. Considerable damage had been done to buildings in the town.<sup>26</sup>

The shocks were easily distinguished in two classes: those in which the motion was horizontal; and those in which it was perpendicular. The latter were the ones that were attended with the explosions, the terrifying noises and the engulfing waters, but they were not so destructive as the others.<sup>27</sup>

The shocks sometimes came on gradually and finally culminated; again they would come without premonition and with terrific force and then gradually subside.<sup>28</sup> Bradbury says the shocks came from a little northward of east and proceeded westward, while others say that they came from the west or southwest.<sup>29</sup>

The noise was described as "inconceivably loud and terrific"; <sup>30</sup> as distant rumbling sounds succeeded by discharges as if a thousand pieces of artillery were suddenly exploded; <sup>31</sup> as loud but distant thunder and more hoarse and vibrating; <sup>32</sup> a noise with an accompanying crashing

<sup>26</sup> History of Southeast Missouri (Chicago, 1888), p. 307.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Flint's Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley (Boston, 1826), p. 22; Lyell's Second Visit to the United States of North America (1849), Vol. II, p. 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Foster's The Mississippi Valley: Its Physical Geography (Chicago, 1869), p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Le Sieur's letter to A. D. Hagar, formerly State Geologist of Missouri, in Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri (St. Louis, 1874), p. 394.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Bradbury's Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811. Second edition, London, 1819, p. 207; Thwaites's edition, Early Western Travels, Vol. V, p. 204.

<sup>31</sup> McBride's Down the Mississippi in the Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Vol. V, No. 1, January-March, 1910; Senator Lewis F. Linn's letter relative to the obstructions to the navigation of the White, Big Black, and St. Francois, addressed to the United States Senate under date of February 1, 1836, and copied in Wetmore's Gazetteer of the State of Missouri (St. Louis, 1837), p. 131; Pierce's An Account of the Great Earthquake in the Western States, Particularly in the Mississippi River, December 16-23, 1811, collected from facts. Newburyport, 1812.

<sup>32</sup> Bryan's History of Cosmopolite, or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow, eighth edition (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 344; Le Sieur's letter to A. D.

of trees, a tottering and shaking of the earth so that persons could not stand or walk,<sup>38</sup> these and the bursting of the ground not only frightened the people, in one case so badly as to cause the death of a woman, but caused birds and animals to scream in their fright, the cattle crowded around the assembled men for companionship and protection, birds lost all power and disposition to fly, and they too sought the protection of man.<sup>34</sup>

Accompanying the noise the whole land moved and waved like the waves of the sea,<sup>35</sup> violently enough to throw persons off their feet. The waves attained a height of several feet, and at the highest point would burst, throwing up large volumes of sand, water, and in some cases a black bituminous shale.<sup>36</sup> These were thrown to a

Hagar, formerly State Geologist of Missouri, in Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri (St. Louis, 1874), p. 394.

\*\*S Le Sieur's letter to A. D. Hagar, formerly State Geologist of Missouri, in Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri (St. Louis, 1874), p. 394.

34 Bryan's History of Cosmopolite, or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow, eighth edition (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 344; Bradbury's Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811, second edition (London, 1819), p. 207; Thwaites's edition, Early Western Travels, Vol. V, p. 204; Flint's Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley (Boston, 1826), p. 22.

35 Le Sieur's letter to A. D. Hagar, formerly State Geologist of Misrouri, in Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri (St. Louis, 1874), p. 394; Senator Lewis F. Linn's letter relative to the obstructions to the navigation of the White, Big Black, and St. Francois, addressed to the United States Senate under date of February 1, 1836, and copied in Wetmore's Gazetteer of the State of Missouri (St. Louis, 1837), p. 131; Brounm's account of the earthquake in Smyth-Davis's History of Dunklin County, Missouri, 1845-1895, p. 15; Flint's Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley (Boston, 1826), p. 22.

36 Senator Lewis F. Linn's letter relative to the obstructions to the navigation of the White, Big Black, and St. Francois, addressed to the United States Senate under date of February 1, 1836, and copied in Wetmore's Gazetteer of the State of Missouri (St. Louis, 1837), p. 131; Lyell's Second Visit to the United States of North America (1849), Vol. II, p. 172; Bryan's History of Cosmopolite, or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow, eighth edition (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 344; Brounm's account of the earthquake in Smith-Davis's History of Dunklin County, Missouri, 1845-1895, p. 15; Flint's

considerable height, the extreme statements being forty feet,<sup>37</sup> and to the tops of the trees.<sup>38</sup>

More than one account says that the water that was thrown up was lukewarm — so warm that in swimming or wading through it there were no chilly sensations.<sup>39</sup>

With the explosions and bursting of the ground there were flashes, such as result from the explosion of gas, or from the passage of the electric fluid from one cloud to another, but there were no burning flames; <sup>40</sup> there were also sulphureted gases, which made the water unfit for use, <sup>41</sup> and which darkened the heavens, <sup>42</sup> giving some the impression of its being steam, <sup>43</sup> with such density that no sunbeam could find its way through. With the bursting of the waves large fissures were formed, <sup>44</sup> some of which Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley (Boston, 1826),

Shaw said a hard jet black substance, smooth as if worn by friction, and different from anthracite or bituminous coal, was thrown out.

87 Dillard.

38 Flint's Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley (Boston, 1826), p. 22; Brounm's account of the earthquake in Smyth-Davis's History of Dunklin County, Missouri, 1845-1895, p. 15.

Le Sieur said six to ten feet. Pierce, who was on the river, says that the spouting from the river of water, mud, and sticks was thrown at least thirty feet high, and in places appeared "to rise to the very heavens". Large tree-trunks were also thrown up from the river.

<sup>39</sup> Le Sieur's letter to A. D. Hagar, former State Geologist of Missouri, in Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri (St. Louis, 1874), p. 394.

40 Dillard.

<sup>41</sup> Bryan's *History of Cosmopolite, or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow*, eighth edition (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 344.

<sup>42</sup> Bryan's History of Cosmopolite, or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow, eighth edition (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 344; Brounm's account of the earthquake in Smyth-Davis's History of Dunklin County, Missouri, 1845-1895, p. 15.

<sup>43</sup> Senator Lewis F. Linn's letter relative to the obstructions to the navigation of the White, Big Black, and St. Francois, addressed to the United States Senate under date of February 1, 1836, and copied in Wetmore's Gazetteer of the State of Missouri (St. Louis, 1837), p. 131.

44 Dillard.

Le Sieur's letter to A. D. Hagar, former State Geologist of Missouri, in Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri (St. Louis, 1874), p. 394; Pierce's An

closed again immediately; <sup>45</sup> others were of various widths, as much as thirty feet, and of various lengths. <sup>46</sup> These fissures were generally parallel to each other nearly north and south, with a few exceptions. <sup>47</sup>

In some cases, instead of fissures extending for a considerable distance, there were circular chasms from five to thirty feet in diameter, around which were left sand and bituminous shale, which latter would burn with a disagreeable sulphurous smell.<sup>48</sup> Lyell mentions that the sand and lignite surrounding these cavities would not be enough to one-tenth fill them.

Lyell saw "the sink hole where the negro was drowned". It was in a flat plain, with steep sides, and twenty-eight feet from the top to the water in it. Lyell was told that some of them had been "deep as wells", and Flint saw a hundred chasms that remained fearfully deep.

In cases where the explosion occurred under trees it was sufficient to split them through the center, even to a height of forty feet, and Foster at the time of his visit found such trees still standing, one part of the tree on one side of the fissure and the other on the other side.<sup>49</sup>

Account of the Great Earthquake in the Western States, Particularly in the Mississippi River, December 16-23, 1811, collected from facts (Newburyport, 1812).

45 Bryan's History of Cosmopolite, or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow, eighth edition (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 344.

46 Dillard.

Lyell's Second Visit to the United States of North America (New York, 1849), Vol. II, p. 172.

Le Sieur says running north and south parallel for miles that he had seen them four or five miles long, four and one-half feet deep, and ten feet wide.

47 Lyell says some were from ten to forty-five degrees west of north.

48 McBride's Down the Mississippi in the Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Vol. V, No. 1, January-March, 1910; Lyell's Second Visit to the United States of North America (New York, 1849), Vol. II, p. 172; Pierce's An Account of the Great Earthquake in the Western States, Particularly in the Mississippi River, December 16-23, 1811, collected from facts (Newburyport, 1812).

49 Foster's The Mississippi Valley: Its Physical Geography (Chicago,

Dillard's grandparents had obtained a boat load of iron castings which had been stored in a cellar. During one of the shocks the ground opened under the house, and the castings were swallowed up so that no trace of them was afterwards found.<sup>50</sup>

The changes in elevation produced by the earthquake were very great, and extended for many miles. Before the earthquake New Madrid was fifteen or twenty feet above the summer floods, but it sank fifteen feet; <sup>51</sup> a half mile below the town the banks of the river were not disturbed; and the beds of some of the lakes back from the river were elevated ten to twenty feet. <sup>52</sup>

The Indians claimed that Seneca Creek, Kinamore Slough, Honey Cypress, Buffalo Creek, Raglin and Taylor Sloughs, which all run in about the same direction, northwesterly and southeasterly, were originally large fissures parallel with the smaller fissures of the earthquake.<sup>53</sup>

Lyell found the "sunk country" covered with trees standing but dead, many of them two hundred years old, and evidently killed by the loosening of the roots during the horizontal and continued undulatory motion of the ground. The descent into this sunken country he found

<sup>1869),</sup> p. 18; McBride's Down the Mississippi in the Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Vol. V, No. 1, January-March, 1910.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Foster's The Mississippi Valley: Its Physical Geography (Chicago, 1869), p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Bryan's History of Cosmopolite, or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow, eighth edition (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 344; Brounm's account of the earthquake in Smyth-Davis's History of Dunklin County, Missouri, 1845-1895.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Le Sieur's letter to A. D. Hagar, former State Geologist of Missouri, in Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri (St. Louis, 1874), p. 394; Rozier's Report on the Submerged Lands of the State of Missouri in the Proceedings of Southwestern Convention at Memphis, November, 1845; also in Western Journal (St. Louis, 1850), Vol. III, p. 391.

Shaw says five or six feet.

<sup>58</sup> Brounm's account of the earthquake, in Smyth-Davis's History of Dunklin County, Missouri, 1845-1895, p. 15.

in places to be as much as twenty to thirty feet. At Little Prairie these dead trees were standing in water.

He visited the former Lake Eulalie, accompanied by Mr. W. Hunter, its owner. It had been three hundred yards long and one hundred wide, of clear water and well stocked with fish. It was then covered with trees, all of different species from those on ground twelve or fifteen feet higher. The trees on the site of the former Lake were less than thirty-four years old. He found two parallel fissures about eight yards apart by which the water had suddenly escaped. He does not say whether the bed of the Lake had been elevated, but if not it is not shown why it did not again fill with water. Lyell says that the sunken country extended 70 to 80 miles north and south and 30 miles east and west.

When Foster visited the neighborhood he found large trees of walnut, white oak, and mulberry which had been on high ground but were then submerged ten and twenty feet beneath the water, and cypress so far under water that he had paddled among the branches. At other places the subsidence had been so great that the tops of trees just appeared above the surface, or as at Reel Foot Lake were entirely below the surface.

Before the earthquake keel boats came up the St. Francis River, and again into the Mississippi River three miles below New Madrid, but this bayou was elevated so that it was dry.<sup>55</sup>

The most notable of the new lakes formed by the earthquake was Reel Foot Lake across the river in Tennessee. This is sixty to seventy miles long, and three to twenty wide. 56 In some parts it is very shallow, and in

<sup>54</sup> McBride's Down the Mississippi in the Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Vol. V, No. 1, January-March, 1910.

<sup>55</sup> Foster's The Mississippi Valley: Its Physical Geography (Chicago, 1869), p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Brounm's account of the earthquake in Smyth-Davis's History of Dunklin County, Missouri, 1845-1895, p. 15.

others fifty to one hundred feet deep. Lofty forest trees sank down with the forming of the Lake, and "disappeared in a sea that was broader and deeper than that of Galilee". Long afterwards the trees were to be seen still standing, branchless, and almost or entirely covered with water.<sup>57</sup> The water of the Lake is not the same as in the Mississippi, but is clear as mountain water and not the yellow muddy water of the River.

Le Sieur, writing in 1871, says that shocks had continued from 1811 to that time, less and less each year and none violent enough to produce any change of surface.

All accounts agree that for a time the waters of the Mississippi "flowed up stream", 58 caused by an elevation of the bed of the river and extending across it, so that the water rose to a considerable height. Many boats were forced into a creek above New Madrid, and when the mass of the waters finally tore away the obstruction, some of the boats were left stranded, and others shot down the river with great velocity. A few days' action of the powerful current was sufficient to wear away every vestige of the barrier.

No more startling change of scenery could well be imagined than that at old Mr. Culberson's, who lived with his family in a bend of the Pemiscot River, ten miles below Little Prairie. There was about "an acre of ground" between his house and the river, and on it was his smoke house and well. On the morning of the 16th, Mrs. Culber-

<sup>57</sup> Senator Lewis F. Linn's letter relative to the obstructions to the navigation of the White, Big Black, and St. Francois, addressed to the United States Senate under date of February 1, 1836, and copied in Wetmore's Gazetteer of the State of Missouri (St. Louis, 1837), p. 131.

<sup>58</sup> Lyell's Second Visit to the United States of North America (New York, 1849), Vol. II, p. 172; Flint's Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley (Boston, 1826), p. 22; Senator Lewis F. Linn's letter relative to the obstructions to the navigation of the White, Big Black, and St. Francois, addressed to the United States Senate under date of February 1, 1836.

Miss Bryan says for a few minutes.

son went out to get some meat from the smoke house, but no well or smoke house was to be seen. Upon search they were both found to be on the other side of the river. A fissure across the bend had been so large that the river flowed through, and the great pressure on the isolated spot forced it to the other side of the river when the next earthwave occurred.<sup>59</sup>

The St. Louis Globe Democrat of March, 1902, has an account of the disappearance of Island No. 94, taken from the papers of the late August Warner. The Island was not far from Vicksburg. Captain Sarpy of St. Louis, with his family and considerable money, tied up at this Island on the evening of December 15, 1811; but, finding that a band of river pirates were waiting to rob him, he quietly dropped further down the river. The next morning he found that the Island had disappeared and the robbers had been swallowed up.

Numerous instances are given of the terror being so great that persons did not know what to do, but Wetmore tells of the Frenchman who did not allow himself to be overcome by what was surrounding him. Mr. Walker, feeling the ground rock under his feet, and seeing tall trees waving like spars of a ship on a stormy ocean, sank to his knees in prayer for safety; but the Frenchman who was with him exclaimed: "Monsieur Valkare, no time to pray! Sacre Dieu! gardez-vous les branch!" The falling branches of the trees added effect to the exhortations, and the men made flight to the nearest prairie.

Miss Bryan wrote in 1816 that formerly they had been subject to very hard thunder storms in this vicinity, but for a year before the earthquake there had been none, and very few afterwards, and what there was resembled subterranean thunder.

In less than three months the people returned to their homes, and they became so accustomed to the shocks that

<sup>59</sup> Southeast Missouri.

"they paid little or no regard to them, not even interrupting or checking their dances, frolics and vices."

In 1820 passengers went ashore from a steamer at New Madrid, and feeling a house shake were frightened. But the lady of the house said: "Don't be alarmed; it is nothing but an earthquake."

The persons who experienced the shocks generally did not theorize as to the cause, but Bradbury found a man near the Lower Chickasaw Bluffs who gave his theory. It was that a comet, which had occurred a few months before, had two horns, over one of which the earth had rolled, and was then lodged between them. The shocks were occasioned by the attempts to surmount the other horn. If this should be accomplished, all would be well; otherwise inevitable destruction of the world would follow.

Bringier thought that the cause was not volcanic, but was perhaps electrical. He thought that the country was partly overlaid with driftwood at some distance below the surface; that this driftwood had become highly carbonized and reduced to a smaller compass, so that when the ground was disturbed by shocks it sank down.

James MacFarlane of Towanda, Pennsylvania, presented a paper to the American Association for the Advancement of Science holding "the Earthquake at New Madrid in 1811, probably not an earthquake." <sup>60</sup> His argument was that the locality does not show any indications of volcanic action, and he thought that the disturbance was from subsidence, due to solution of underlying strata. His evidence was the long continuance from 1811 to 1813; the progression from place to place, ending nearly one hundred miles from the place of beginning; the fact that they were never repeated in the same place; that none of the ordinary phenomena of earthquakes occurred, except

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 32nd meeting, 1883, p. 247. Same with discussion in Science, September 7, 1883.

subsidence; that no great alluvial region like this has ever been visited by an earthquake; that earthquakes do not occur so far from sea shore; that the falling of the Wade farm of 500 acres on the shore of Reel Foot Lake, in January, 1883, was a continuance on a small scale of the supposed earthquake of 1811-1812. New Madrid and vicinity rested on tertiary or quaternary strata, and the subcarboniferous strata are on the borders of the depression, and older formations which were soluble were underlying strata.

In the discussion Professor Cox declared that there was no subcarboniferous in the vicinity, no caverns, no soluble limestone. The shocks were sudden. He had personally visited the locality, and found evidences of very great disturbances. Professor Nipher suggested that the position of the trees, whether upright or not would help to determine. Some doubts were expressed as to whether there were any submerged trees, but Professor Cox said that he had seen the trees still upright in the water.

Professor Marbut <sup>61</sup> seeks to give a geological account of the swamp region or lowlands of Southeast Missouri, and this he does with only a slight reference to the earthquakes, "the earthquake shocks of 1811 and 1812. A large part of the area is supposed to have sunk at that time, though the amount of the sinking has not been agreed upon. The relative effect of these two forces has never been clearly determined by even the most strenuous advocates of the earthquake's effectiveness."

The most satisfactory explanation of the results that were produced by the earthquake is that by Professor E. M. Shepard of Drury College, Springfield, Missouri. While employed with the United States Geological Survey, he visited the region of the earthquake several times

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Marbut's The Evolution of the Northern Part of the Lowlands of Southeastern Missouri in the University of Missouri Studies, Vol. I, No. 3, July, 1902.

in 1904, for the work in which he was then engaged, namely, that of the study of artesian waters. He found still apparent the effects of the earthquake, the fault scarps where the ground had sunk down, the trees standing in Reel Foot Lake with the tops below the surface of the water, and submerged trees at other places; the areas where the land had sunk down, the trees killed, the depression partly filled with flood deposits, and then covered with a new vegetation different from the old; and great quantities of sand in places making the land barren, the sand found along the cracks and fault scarps and in "sand blows" or low mounds of fine white sand mixed with lignite. He shows the geology of that part of the country, and that the Mississippi Valley forms a strong artesian basin from the Tennessee Mountains to the Ozarks; that beneath the loess of the surface there are 6 to 40 feet of gravel, followed by a layer of impervious blue clay from 100 to 225 feet deep, then 10 to 40 feet of Orange sand, and under it the Silicious Claiborne or artesian sand 600 to 800 feet, and various other layers below, the subcarboniferous being 1,300 to 2,000 feet below the surface. At Memphis and at other points in a circle on the border of the sunken districts there are flowing wells. In these and in all the springs of the sunken area great quantities of fine sand are brought to the surface. This produces an undermining of the blue clay layer and finally a readjustment of the strata affected. His conclusion is that whatever may have been the primary cause of the earthquake, the local disturbance at New Madrid came from the artesian pressure from below undermining the superincumbent beds of clay, and that a slight earthquake wave would destroy the equilibrium of the region, resulting in the sinking of some areas and the elevation of others.

The writer has not had opportunity to get data on other earthquakes in Missouri, with the exception of two which follow. What seems to have been the most severe earthquake since 1811-1812, occurred at St. Louis and other places in the Mississippi Valley, on October 8, 1857.<sup>62</sup> There were two shocks, the first at about 4:15 a. m., and the other a few minutes later. Windows rattled, articles fell from mantels, the largest buildings were rocked to and fro, the river was in tumult, and animals were frightened. There was a great rumbling like the passage of a heavy vehicle over pavements, houses with walls even eighteen inches thick were violently affected, the motion being horizontal with a vibration from east to west.

Some reports stated that the shocks were accompanied by a heavy mist or fog, but a dispatch from a place on the river below showed that the fog began there at about eleven o'clock. At St. Louis the northern sky was clear, but the mist soon overspread the skies.

Dispatches from other points showed that the shocks were felt at many places in Illinois, and along the Mississippi River from Hannibal south, but at Hermann and Jefferson City no shocks were felt. Accounts differed as to the direction from which the shocks came, but the *Democrat* reporter thought that the weight of evidence was that they came from the south.

The Belcher well which was then 2,265 feet deep was not affected.

One person reported that he had seen a meteor as large as a full moon which shot across the sky south to north and exploded with a loud noise, and one in Illinois said that there was vivid lightning and loud thunder; but as these things were not mentioned by any other persons there may be some doubt about them.

The earthquake of October 31, 1895, was said to be the hardest shock since that of 1812. It was felt in seventeen States, and was most violent in a line extending south of the State of Ohio. Near Henson Lake, six miles south of Charleston, Missouri, about four acres of ground were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Missouri Republican, October 9, 1857; Missouri Democrat, October 9, 10, and 12, 1857.

sunk and filled with water, forming another lake. Near Bertrand hundreds of mounds of sand were piled up, ranging from twelve inches to ten feet in circumference, and the ditches in this neighborhood were filled with water. The water came from the holes made by the earthquake, since there had been no rain to fill them in any other way for nearly two months. Near Big Lake, four miles north of Charleston, there were two small holes in the earth from which the water spouted to the height of three feet. In Dunklin County shocks were much lighter. It lasted three minutes from northeast to southwest, but no damage was done.<sup>63</sup>

63 St. Louis Republic, November 2, 1895; Smyth-Davis's History of Dunklin County, Missouri, 1845-1895, p. 18.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ORIGINAL SOURCE MATERIAL ON THE NEW MADRID EARTHQUAKE

- Bradbury, John, Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811. Second edition (London, 1819), p. 207. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, Vol. V, p. 204.
- 2. Brounn, Michael, Account of the Earthquake in History of Dunklin County Missouri, 1845-1895, by Mary F. Smyth-Davis, p. 15.
- 3. Bringier, L., Notices of the Geology of the Regions Around the Mississippi and its Confluent Waters in a letter to Rev. Elias Cornelius, in the American Journal of Science and Arts, 1821, Vol. III, p. 15.
- 4. Broadhead, Garland C., The New Madrid Earthquake in the American Geologist, August, 1902, p. 76. Also a reprint of the same.
- 5. Bryan, Eliza, History of Cosmopolite, or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow, Eighth edition (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 344. Also found in the History of Southeast Missouri (Chicago, 1888), p. 344.
- 6. Flint, Timothy, Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Mississippi Valley (Boston, 1826), p. 22. His account is also given in Foster's Mississippi Valley.
- Foster, J. W., The Mississippi Valley: Its Physical Geography (Chicago, 1869), p. 18.
- 8. Hildreth, Dr. Samuel P., History of an Early Voyage on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, with Historical Sketches, in The American Pioneer (Chillicothe, Oho, 1842), p. 128.

#### 238 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

- Le Sieur, Godfrey, Letter to A. D. Hagar, Former State Geologist of Missouri in Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri (St. Louis: R. A. Campbell, 1874), p. 394.
- Lyell, Sir Charles, Second Visit to the United States of North America (New York: Harper & Bros., 1849), Vol. II, p. 172.
- 11. McBride, James, Down the Mississippi in the Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Vol. V, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1910.
- 12. MacMurtrie, Henry, Sketches of Louisville and Its Environs, Added an Appendix Containing an Account of the Earthquake Experienced Here from the 16th December, 1811, to the 7th February, 1812, Extracted Principally from the Papers of the Late J. Brookes (Louisville, 1819).
- 13. Marbut, Prof. C. F., The Evolution of the Northern Part of the Lowlands of Southeastern Missouri in The University of Missouri Studies, Vol. I, No. 3, July, 1902.
- 14. Pierce, William Leigh et al., An Account of the Great Earth-quake in the Western States, Particularly in the Mississippi River, December 16-23, 1811, Collected from Facts (Newburyport, 1812).
- 15. Rozier, Fermin A., Report on the Submerged Lands of Missouri in the Proceedings of the Southwestern Convention at Memphis, 1845. Also found in the Western Journal (St. Louis, 1850), Vol. III, p. 391.
- 16. Shaw, Col. John, New Madrid Earthquake in the second annual Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1855. Reprinted in the Missouri Historical Review (Columbia, Missouri), January, 1912, p. 91.
- Wetmore, Alphonse, Gazetteer of the State of Missouri (St. Louis, 1837), p. 131.
- 18. Linn, Lewis F., Letter relative to the Obstructions to the Navigation of the White, Big Black, at St. Francois (to the United States Senate), February 1, 1836. Copied in Wetmore's Gazetteer.
- 19. Shepard, Edward M., The New Madrid Earthquake in The Journal of Geology, Vol. XIII, No. 1, January-February, 1905. Also a pamphlet reprint.
- 20. Fagots from the Camp Fire, by "The Newspaper Man", fourth edition (Washington, 1881), p. 179.
- 21. Rozier, Fermin A., History of the Early Settlement of the Mississippi Valley (St. Louis, 1890), p. 198.
- 22. Audubon's Journal. His account is quoted in Rozier's History of the Early Settlement of the Mississippi Valley, p. 208. It is also given in St. John's Life of Audubon (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1856), p. 33.
- Fuller, Myron L., The New Madrid Earthquake in United States Geological Survey Bulletin, No. 494 (Washington, 1912).

# SIGNIFICANT EVENTS DURING THE LAST YEAR OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE WEST

## By James Alton James

After Yorktown, the Revolution east of the mountains was really at an end. The instructions issued to Sir Guy Carleton, on April 4, 1782, as he was setting out to take command in America, contain evidence of this fact. He was directed to transfer the garrison at New York to Halifax, even at the price of "an early capitulation" and the garrisons of Charleston and Savannah were to be similarly treated. For upwards of a year the control of the West was still in the balance and British and American leaders in that region continued to exercise their greatest military and diplomatic powers. The names, Bryan's Station, Blue Licks, and Wheeling have been well known because of the dramatic incidents of 1782. But there were other events of that year deserving attention from him who desires to understand the reason for the transfer of the Northwest to the United States.

Early in December the numerous recommendations from the Western officials were considered by the Virginia legislature.<sup>2</sup> Fully aware of the critical situation, they were powerless to assume the burdens of offensive warfare with an empty treasury and paper money depreciated to the ratio of 1000 to 1.<sup>3</sup> "Our paper money is at an end," wrote Governor Harrison, "and from the redundancy of that baneful medium which has hitherto circulated amongst us, the credit of the State is at a very low ebb."

<sup>1</sup> Channing's History of the United States, Vol. III, p. 347.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Journal of Virginia House Delegates, 1781, December 11, p. 35; see Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Vol. III, p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 51, J, 98.

Governor Harrison to the President of Congress, January 21, 1782. Harrison's Letter Book, 1781, p. 31, in Virginia State Archives.

Legislative regulation and the imposition of heavy taxes were resorted to with the hope of restoring their lost credit. But contributions to the support of the army under General Nathanael Greene and the campaign against Lord Cornwallis had drained the State of its resources. The extended territory from which collections were to be made rendered immediate relief through taxation impossible. Governor Harrison was forced to answer the appeal of General Greene for relief as follows: "The credit of the State is lost and we have not a shilling in the Treasury. The powers formerly given to embody and march the militia of the State are no longer continued to us, nor can we impress what may be necessary for you or even for ourselves. Invasion has nearly drained us of our Stock of Provisions and Refreshments of all kinds necessary for an army. As this is not an exaggerated but a true State of our situation I leave you to judge whether any great Dependance can for the present be placed on this State." 5 The hopes of leaders in the West were revived for a time by the report of the success of General Greene at Charleston and the capture of Lord Cornwallis, but failure to carry out the expedition under General Clark and Colonel Gibson aroused their fears lest they should now be attacked from Detroit.6 Discontent became more prevalent during the winter months. Fort Pitt was described as a "heap of ruins." The combined garrisons at this post and at Forts McIntosh and Wheeling numbered two hundred and thirty men. Military stores were almost exhausted, provisions were scarce, owing to the lack of public credit, although at the time tons of flour were being held for shipment to Kentucky and New Orleans at the opening of navigation. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> January 21, 1782. — Harrison's Letter Book, 1781, p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Washington Manuscript, Box 24, pp. 255, 256 ff., in the Library of Congress.

Clark and Gibson were to combine in an attack on Detroit.

<sup>7</sup> General Irvine to General Washington, April 29, 1782:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Since I came up, I have given permits to ten boats for New Orleans

boundary line between Pennsylvania and Virginia had not been settled and neither civil nor military authority could be enforced. There was an outcry against taxation of every form. Large numbers of the inhabitants of Westmoreland County, because of Colonel Lochry's defeat, were threatening to retire to the east of the mountains.8 A day was set upon which other settlers were to assemble at Wheeling for the purpose of acquiring lands on the Muskingum and founding a new State which must ultimately come under British control. Desertions were common among the troops.9 For two years and three months they had received no pay. Forced to live in cold open barracks with little fuel and without adequate clothing, officers and men alike were incapable of performing the routine of garrison duties. "I never saw troops cut so deplorable, and at the same time despicable a figure. Indeed, when I arrived," so wrote General Irvine, "no man would believe from their appearance that they were soldiers; nay it would be difficult to determine whether they were white men." 10

By order of the Governor of Virginia, General Clark was directed to garrison the Falls of the Ohio, the mouth of

and Kentucky loaded with flour. I believe none of them carried less than thirty tons. I am informed ten or twelve more are to be down in one fleet of a much larger size."—Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 202.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Delawares have just delivered up some Prisoners which they took the 22nd March navigating a large boat from Fort Pitt, loaded with three hundred Barrels of Flour, on its way from [to] New Orleans. They report that several other boats were to follow, some of them larger, and all loaded with flour for the same market."—Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X, p. 575.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Vol. III, p. 314.

<sup>9 &</sup>quot;Though nothing like general mutiny has taken place, yet several individuals have behaved in the most daring and atrocious manner, two of whom are now under sentence and shall be executed tomorrow, which I hope will check these proceedings."—Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 111.

<sup>10</sup> Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 75.

the Kentucky, the mouth of the Licking, and the mouth of Limestone Creek. Two gun-boats were to be built for each post which should be used to patrol the Ohio and prevent any Indian bands from crossing.11 These garrisons were to be manned by regulars and militia consisting of one hundred men at the Falls and sixty-eight at each of the other posts. The carrying out of these measures was dependent upon the generosity of the people themselves supported by the promise that any debts contracted for the purpose should be met by the first means available and that there was every expectation of punctuality.12 The troops under Clark's command were poorly prepared for the service they were expected to render. For two years, many of them had served without receiving any pay and during that time had been given neither shoes, nor stockings, nor a hat. 18 For a like period others had received no clothing of any sort from the State.14 Forced to live on half rations, they conceived themselves as totally neglected while the main army, as they firmly believed, lacked nothing and was even supplied with luxuries. But the hardships in the camps of the main army, were quite as extreme. Because of a lack of the ordinary means of transportation, provisions collected in one county were unavailable for the use of the troops in an adjoining county. At that time, Virginia troops at Cumberland Old Court-House had received no meat for fourteen

<sup>11</sup> Harrison's Letter Book, 1781, pp. 13-15, in the Virginia State Archives.

<sup>12</sup> Harrison's Letter Book, 1781, pp. 82, 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Captain Robert Todd to the Virginia Council, Executive Papers, December, 1781, in the Virginia State Library. Captain Todd was the paymaster of Clark's regiment.

<sup>14 &</sup>quot;Our distress for the want of clothing cannot be otherwise than apparent when you reflect sir that for more than a year and a half we have not in this particular experienced the bounty of our country but have been left to struggle through a complication of difficult and distressful circumstances upon our own slender means."—Joseph Crockett to Governor Harrison, April 3, 1782. Clark Manuscripts in the Virginia State Library. Crockett accompanied Clark on the expedition.

days, and a State regiment at Portsmouth was reported to be in need of bread, meat, and salt.<sup>15</sup>

Once more Clark's preparations exerted a marked effect upon British plans and Indian acts. Many Indian nations made overtures for peace with Clark.16 During the fall and winter, British authorities strove to gain control of all the Northwestern tribes. Immense treasure was bestowed upon them and discipline was relaxed, for as stated by one of the officials, Indians must be used to prevent the inroads of the Virginians and must be "delicately managed to prevent their favoring those rebels." 17 In January, a company of Indians was sent to drive off some traders at "Chicagou," who were using their influence among the Indians in behalf of the Americans.18 Late in February, chiefs of the Shawnee, Wyandot, Delawares, and ten other tribes assembled at Detroit.19 They were instructed to make no attack, particularly on Kentucky, until towards spring. As a feint, small parties were sent forward to steal horses and commit minor depredations thus keeping settlers off their guard until the coming of the main expedition which was to capture Fort Nelson and the other posts and at a single blow lay waste the whole frontier. Promise for the success of the plan was greater because of the arrival at Detroit of Rocheblave, Lamothe,20 and other captured leaders all anxious to retrieve their former disasters by capturing the Illinois country and Vincennes. Early in February, the

<sup>15</sup> Harrison's Letter Book, 1781, p. 37, in the Virginia State Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Wisconsin Historical Collections, Shane Papers, Vol. XVI, p. 37.
It was estimated that twenty-seven of the fifty tribes were prepared to treat with Clark.

<sup>17</sup> Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X, p. 548.

<sup>18</sup> Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X, p. 547.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Clark Manuscripts in the Virginia State Library; Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 90, 91; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X, pp. 546, 547.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> For plan submitted by Lamothe, see Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X, pp. 569, 572.

most exposed settlements of Kentucky and Virginia were surprised, a number of prisoners were captured, cabins burned, and stock killed.

The outlook was still gloomier, for Clark had tendered his resignation to the Governor. Power to draw bills on the State had been entrusted to Clark alone, but large quantities appeared drawn by Colonel Montgomery, Captain Robert George, and others. It was suspected that there was collusion between the drawers and those to whom the bills were made payable, because of the large amounts and the fact that most of them were for specie when it was common knowledge that there was no specie available to the State.21 By an act of the Assembly five Commissioners were appointed to investigate the conduct of all officers, agents, contractors, and other persons who had disbursed public money in the West belonging to Virginia, and if thought desirable to appoint others to their positions.22 Clark interpreted the act as a reflection upon his conduct of public affairs. Free from military service, he planned to give attention to his land holdings for, as he said, he possessed an "unprecedented Quantity of the finest Lands in the western world." At the time, immigration to the West was so extensive that the rise of land values was "amazing". Not only was his request to be relieved from service refused, full confidence in him having been expressed by the Governor, but his powers were made more extensive.23

<sup>21</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 46, J, 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Harrison's *Letter Book*, 1781, pp. 41, 42. The Commissioners named were William Fleming, Thomas Marshall, Samuel McDowell, Daniel Smith, and Granville Smith. Any three of them might constitute the Commission.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Clark Manuscripts in the Virginia State Library, Clark to Governor Harrison, February 18, 1782.

<sup>&</sup>quot;I am Satisfy'd Respecting the verbal message alluded to in yours finding that it was not aimed at me, I wish those who see the Resolution may not think so as its known that most publick transactions in the Western Department pass's thro my hands, such an idea must be painfull to me well knowing the exertions I have used to save the publick monies."

Fully aware that the task was the most difficult he had ever undertaken, Clark pushed the preparations vigorously, for foiling the main attack of the enemy, which it was understood would be directed against Fort Nelson.<sup>24</sup> "If we should be so fortunate as to repel this invasion without too great a loss to ourselves," he wrote, "the Indians will all scatter to their different Countries and give a fair opportunity for a valuable stroke to be made among them." <sup>25</sup>

Assuming a part of the expense himself, Clark gave special attention to the construction of four armed galleys with the design of using them to control the navigation of the Ohio at the mouth of the Miami. Spies and scouting parties were constantly engaged on the various roads leading to the settlements in order to prevent possible surprise. By the end of May, one of the boats, with a seventy-three foot keel, was completed, having bullet proof gunwales four feet high and false gunwales which could be raised in case of attack. When completely equipped, it was to be manned with one hundred and ten men, and was to carry a six-pounder, two fours, and a two-pounder. The obstacles encountered in car-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> "But I doubt it will be out of my power to save this infant country from these impending strokes that now hover over it." Clark to Jonathan Clark, February 16, 1782. — Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 2, L, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Clark Manuscripts in the Virginia State Library. Clark (March 7, 1782) pointed out the value of armed boats in preventing incursions of Indians to the South of the Ohio. The Governor replied on April 22, 1782: "I am sorry to inform you that we have not four shillings in the treasury, and no means of getting any more."—Virginia State Papers, Vol. III, p. 133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 52, J, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The expense was met in part by the sale of flour from the general storehouse. "Take all the pains you can to find out and encourage Boatbuilders and good workmen to repair to this place immediately they shall have good wages, in hard money, if you can find experienced ship carpenters that come immediately he shall have almost what wages he will ask." Clark to Joseph Lindsay, March 5, 1782.—Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 11, J, 17.

<sup>28</sup> Executive Papers, October, 1782, in the Virginia State Library.

rying out defensive measures were continuous. Militia ordered on duty at Fort Nelson refused to march.<sup>29</sup> A company of thirty-eight men serving on the row-galley deserted, even after unusual concessions had been granted them.<sup>30</sup> The regiment of State infantry promised for Western defense could not be sent, for it was found that their services would be necessary to guard the coast.<sup>31</sup> Added to the general confusion and lack of discipline incident to the fear of attack, there was a spirit of insurgency on the part of certain leaders born of the desire to form an independent State and "calculated on purpose for disaffection & an evasion of duty." <sup>32</sup>

Clark's preparations were, in the usual fashion, magnified by the authorities at Detroit. It was asserted that he was about to march with four thousand men for the capture of that post. To add to their alarm and confusion, the first news reached them in early April of the surrender of Cornwallis, and it was rumored that the Iroquois were about to make peace with the Americans.38 There was no hope for assistance from Montreal for the British authorities were in expectation that such troops as they could spare would be needed to make a diversion in favor of General Clinton, who was defending New York.34 While directing that effort should be made to render Detroit safe from assault, General Haldimand, in anticipation of the importance of holding that post should peace ensue, ordered the collection of sufficient provisions to enable the garrison to withstand a formidable assault.

The advance of Colonel William Crawford from Fort

<sup>29</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 52, J, 10.

<sup>30</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 52, J, 25.

<sup>31</sup> Clark Manuscripts in the Virginia State Library; Harrison's Letter Book, 1781, pp. 82, 83; Executive Papers, March 24, 1782, in the Virginia State Library.

<sup>32</sup> April 8, 1782.

<sup>33</sup> Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X, pp. 565, 566.

<sup>34</sup> Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X, pp. 565, 566.

Pitt at the head of four hundred and eighty mounted men was regarded as the advance guard of this American army.<sup>35</sup> Little foresight was shown by the leaders, and on June 4 they were attacked at one of the upper Sandusky towns by a force under Captain Caldwell, consisting of rangers, volunteers, and Indians. There was slight gain on either side. On the following afternoon, Caldwell was joined by one hundred and forty Shawnee and, although his force was still inferior in numbers to the Americans, he forced them to retreat in great disorder.<sup>36</sup>

In the midst of the general consternation caused by Crawford's defeat, the savages, incited by their victory, appeared in numbers on the upper Ohio and advanced some distance along the main traveled road beyond Fort Pitt.<sup>37</sup> Outlying settlers were cut off in the usual fashion and settlements were burned.<sup>38</sup> The inhabitants who did not escape to the forts were murdered or captured, crops were destroyed, and stock driven away. Depredations were committed by other bands in the New River region and upon the other back settlements of the Carolinas.<sup>39</sup>

Settlers who had sustained the greatest losses through Crawford's defeat urged retaliation and besought General Irvine to lead them on such an expedi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. II, J, 7; Almon's Remembrancer, Vol. XIV, pp. 255, 256.

<sup>36</sup> Colonel Crawford and fifty of his men were killed or made prisoners. A number, among whom was Colonel Crawford, were brutally murdered. The Delawares justified their fiendish performances as a retaliation for the cruelties of the "Moravian Massacre".— Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. II, S, 58-60, 61-65; Vol. 1, AA, 231-259; Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 128, 376, 377.

<sup>37</sup> Hannastown was burned. This village was the county seat of Westmoreland County and was located on the old Forbes road thirty miles beyond Pittsburgh. There were two hundred Indians in one of these parties.—

Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. II, S, 58-60; Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 171, 250, 383, 391 (note).

<sup>38</sup> Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 381.

<sup>39</sup> Pennsylvania Gazette, May 8, 1782.

tion.<sup>40</sup> They offered to raise one thousand militia-men and to equip them with horses and provisions.<sup>41</sup> In arranging for another campaign against the Sandusky Indian villages, General Irvine, who lacked confidence in the volunteers, proposed to send one hundred regular troops as a nucleus for the force of nearly one thousand men. He was the more confident of success because General Clark had promised coöperation by advancing against the Shawnee.

General De Peyster early received intelligence of this movement, which he rightly interpreted as a concerted plan for the capture of Detroit. The defenses were strengthened and a gun-boat was ordered stationed at the mouth of the Miami.42 Messages were forwarded to Captains Caldwell and McKee who were at Sandusky and to Captain Brandt who intended to attack Wheeling directing them to act solely on the defensive. 43 But by the end of July the Kentucky settlements had received a terrific blow. Eleven hundred Indians, the greatest single body ever mustered during the Revolution, were brought together by Caldwell and McKee for an attack on Wheeling. While marching in that direction they were overtaken by Shawnee messengers imploring them to return for the protection of their towns against an attack by Clark. The alarm had grown out of the appearance of the armed row-galley at the mouth of the Licking. Most of the savages declined to go further, but Caldwell and McKee, not content with a fruitless expedition, determined to invade Kentucky. With three hundred Wyandotte and Lake Indians and a small body of Detroit rangers they crossed the Ohio, and on the night of August 15 appeared before Bryan's Station, the northernmost settlement of

<sup>40</sup> Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 123, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Virginia State Papers, Vol. III, p. 286; Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. I, AA, 231-259.

<sup>42</sup> Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X, pp. 625-627.

<sup>43</sup> Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X, p. 633.

Fayette County. An account of the successful defense of this post and of the decisive defeat of the Kentuckians at the Battle of the Blue Licks can not now be given.

There was general despair in all of the frontier communities after the disaster at the Blue Licks. A similar stroke, it was believed, would not only lead to the destruction of the Kentucky settlements, but would bring the savage forces in larger numbers against the more interior counties of Virginia and the Carolinas. Numbers of young men, as usual in time of great danger, hastened to return to the older settlements. Families threatened to leave the country unless protection should be sent them. Numerous petitions to the Governor and legislature describing the general calamity called for interposition in their behalf. Others petitioned Congress to be taken under their protection. Criticism of General Clark was wide-spread for failing to establish other fortified posts in addition to Fort Nelson, which was held to be so far to the west that it offered no protection against the inroads of the enemy.

Stirred by these messages, Governor Harrison rebuked Clark for failing to communicate with him for several months and for his neglect in carrying out orders for the establishment of the posts which would have prevented, as he said, such a disaster. But Clark held himself blameless for the situation in the West. The Falls of the Ohio, he insisted, must first be fortified and the completion of Fort Nelson had, he believed, saved the Western country. Despairing of capturing so formidable a post, the enemy had divided their forces and sent one expedition against Wheeling and another to fall on the Kentucky settlements. That these posts had been surprised, he maintained, was due to a lack of foresight in not keeping scouting parties constantly employed, as had been or

<sup>44</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 52, J, 50.

dered.<sup>45</sup> The conduct of the leaders at the Blue Licks, he characterized as "extremely reprehensible", due in large measure to an attempt to offset their former neglect of duty. Plans had been made by Clark to put into operation the complete plan for fortifications. After strengthening Fort Nelson,<sup>46</sup> he proposed to construct a fort at the mouth of the Kentucky and another at the mouth of the Licking. County officials refused to assist in furnishing men and supplies and his own force, growing daily smaller because of desertions on account of failure to receive necessary food and clothing, was too small to garrison the additional posts. Another advance by the enemy which was expected would, he asserted, make their labor use-less.<sup>47</sup>

Early in September, Captain Caldwell was again at the Upper Sandusky where he awaited the coming of the expedition from Fort Pitt. Runners were dispatched to Detroit and to the other posts urging that reënforcements should be sent at once to his relief. At the time, owing to sickness among the rangers, his defense was dependent almost wholly upon the Indians. Detroit officials, anticipating that Captain Caldwell would be forced to retreat before so formidable an enemy and that the Shawnee would be unable to withstand an attack by Colonel Clark, prepared a second defense which would cover the retreat to Detroit.<sup>48</sup> As usual, Major DePeyster, overcome with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> "Colonel Todd's Miliatia was excused from all other duty but that of keeping out proper scouts and spies on the Ohio and elsewhere to discover the approach of the Enemy to give time & to Imbody Sufficient force to Repell them as it could not be previously done not certainly knowing in what quarter they would make their stroke."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> "The whole garrison was constantly employed in completing barracks for the soldiers till Oct. 23." Mayor Geo. Walls wrote from Fort Nelson, December 16, 1782. — Draper's trip, 1860, in *Draper Manuscript Collections*, III, 206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Letter of November 30, 1782. — Clark Manuscripts in the Virginia State Archives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Major De Peyster to General Haldimand, September 29, 1782.— Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X, p. 651.

fear at the approach of the enemy, was ready to sacrifice his allies, and wrote Captain McKee as follows: "By the accounts of their force in the present sickly state of the Rangers and the Indians being so much distressed I fear you will be obliged to retreat at least till you are joined by the Miamies. I have sent all the Indians I could muster particularly the Ottawas of the Miamie River. . . . You must be sensible that my soldiers are little acquainted with wood fighting and Ill equipped for it withall. I have therefore only ordered them to take post where they can secure the ammunition and provisions and support you in case you are obliged to retreat which I hope will still not be the case." 49

During September and October preparations were made for the cooperative campaign, in which General Irvine was to advance with twelve hundred men against Sandusky, and Colonel Clark was to attack the Shawnee stronghold. Nine hundred men were also to be sent against the Genesee towns. 50 Kentuckians quickly responded to Clark's call for a retaliatory expedition.<sup>51</sup> Parched meal, buffalo, and deer meat were quickly collected, but other supplies were gotten together with great The credit of the State was worthless and difficulty. creditors, who had already advanced all of their property, were at the time beseeching Clark to aid them in the adjustment of their claims. "If I was worth the money," he wrote, "I would most chearfully pay it myself and trust the State, But can assure you with truth that I am entirely Reduced myself by advancing Everything I could Raise, and Except what the State owes me am not worth a Spanish dollar, I wish it was in my power to follow your proposition to step forth & save my country from the dis-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> October 1, 1782. — Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. X, p. 651.

<sup>50</sup> Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 181, 182.

<sup>51</sup> Clark to Governor Harrison, October 22, 1782.

grace that is like to fall on her." <sup>52</sup> Clark finally exchanged thirty-five hundred acres of his own land for the flour necessary for the expedition. <sup>53</sup>

By November 1st the two divisions of troops reached the mouth of the Licking, the appointed place of rendezvous. Colonel Floyd, in charge of one division, consisting of regulars from Fort Nelson and militia from the western stations, ascended the Ohio with the artillery. while the other section, commanded by Colonel Logan. marched from the eastern settlements.54 On the fourth of November, one thousand and fifty mounted men with Colonel Clark in command set out for Chillicothe, the Shawnee stronghold. Rigid discipline was maintained during the march of six days.55 A plan of attack had been worked out by Clark in minute details. Three miles from the town. Colonel Floyd was sent forward with three hundred men to make the attack. But his approach was discovered and warned by the alarm-cry, the inhabitants made good their escape. Chillicothe and five other Shawnee towns were burned, and large quantities of corn and provisions were destroyed. 66 Colonel Logan with a detachment of one hundred and fifty men captured the British trading post at the head of the Miami and burned such stores as they were unable to carry away with them. After vainly attempting for four days to bring on a general engagement, Clark returned with his troops to the mouth of

<sup>52</sup> Clark to Oliver Pollock, October 25, 1782.

<sup>53</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 52, J, 33. Seventy thousand pounds of flour were obtained from Bartholomew Tardiveau.

<sup>54</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 52, J, 52.

<sup>55</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 11, J, 24.

<sup>56</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 11, J, 24.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Two-thirds of their Towns was laid in ashes".—Clark to Governor Harrison, November 27, 1782. According to one report 10,000 bushels of corn were burned.—Virginia State Papers, Vol. III, p. 383. Ten Indians were killed and seven were made prisoners. Two white prisoners were recaptured. Clark's loss was one man killed and one wounded.—Executive Papers, November 27, 1782, in the Virginia State Archives.

the Licking where the divisions again separated. By this stroke. Clark had not only saved the frontier settlements from danger of attack, but he had offset the designs of British authorities to bring about a union of the Northwestern and Southwestern tribes. This plan, closely akin to that of 1781, was well calculated to win the support of the Indians, for it promised the advance of a large force from Detroit against Fort Pitt, the capture in succession of that post, Fort Nelson, and the other Kentucky posts, and the retaking of the Illinois territory. In this manner, Kentuckians, it was said, would be driven across the mountains and "the other inhabitants into the sea." 57 He had extended the radius of menace towards Detroit and had thrown the enemy into utmost confusion. The Indians were panic-stricken at this evidence of strength. Their winter supplies were destroyed and the policy of retrenchment on the part of British officials due in part to the high prices fixed by monopolies cut down the quantities of presents.58

Moreover, Indian demands for protection from Detroit were refused. Sickness still pervaded the ranks of the rangers and regular soldiers, it was claimed, were not suitable nor were they equipped for a winter campaign. <sup>59</sup> Major De Peyster was aware that the road to Detroit was open, and he fully expected an attack would be made by

<sup>57</sup> Clark Manuscripts in the Virginia State Library, February 2 and 25, 1783.

<sup>58</sup> Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XI, pp. 320, 321.
General Haldimand in a letter to Thomas Townsend, November 9, 1782, wrote: "I flatter myself that the King's Ministers must be convinced of my attention to Diminish the Public Expense. I have now to acquaint you Sir, that a Spirit of Monopoly, pervades this Province, a Combination has been made & Succeeded, in Engrossing, into a few hands, the Rum, Brandy, & other Spirituous Liquors which have been imported."

Major De Peyster to General Haldimand, November 21, 1782. "The few Rangers at this Post prevents my doing anything essential for the relief of the Indian villages, it is therefore to be hoped that when the enemy have done all the mischief possible they will retire."

the Americans in the spring. Indian leaders were again ordered to act solely on the defensive. In demanding reenforcements, he declared: "Light troops are therefore what we want, and believe me there will be amusement for a good number of them the ensuing campaign without acting on the offensive." 60

Messengers sent by General Irvine had informed Clark that the expedition against Sandusky was assured. As they were about to set out from Fort McIntosh, the place of rendezvous, letters were received from the Continental Secretary of War countermanding the expedition. According to British orders, all hostilities were suspended and the savages were to commit no further depredations. Reports were still sent out by General Irvine that he was about to march with a large force for Sandusky. These were well calculated to deceive the Wyandotte and prevent their coöperation with the Shawnee against Clark. Sandusky.

With the return of the victorious troops, the feeling of confidence was restored. Kentuckians, with land warrants, crowded the surveyor's offices. So keen was the rivalry to secure choice locations of land that the Commissioners sent by Virginia to adjust the military accounts were with difficulty able to secure attendance upon their meetings. Clark took up at once with the Commissioners the problem of establishing forts, for the letters

<sup>60</sup> Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XI, p. 321.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> The Wyandotte center. This message was received by Clark on November 2nd.—Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 11, J, 24; Butter-field's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 398.

<sup>62</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 52, J, 55.

<sup>68</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 52, J, 55; Butterfield's Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 400, 401.

<sup>64</sup> Executive Papers, Virginia State Archives, Lincoln County, December 23, 1782. Meetings of the three Commissioners were held at Harrodsburg and Lexington prior to December 23. Messengers were sent to Kaskaskia and Vincennes demanding that creditors and officers appear before them at Louisville.

from Governor Harrison specified that the original plan should be carried out.65 But the obstacles were still insuperable. By disposing of some of his own lands, the credit of the State being worthless, Clark had supplied the necessary stores at Fort Nelson. Herds of buffalo were exterminated or had retreated so far beyond the settlements that the expense of hunting them was prohibitory. A specific tax was in vogue in Fayette County alone. Men were not available for the performance of garrison duties and the artillery was inadequate. As Clark expressed it: "There is not a sufficiency of cannon for a Block house, intead of mounting four or five forts". It was not difficult for the commissioners, when confronted by the actual conditions, to understand how utterly futile would be the attempt to enforce the instructions of the Governor.

Steps must be taken, however, to protect immigrants who should enter the country by the Ohio and through Cumberland Gap and also insure safety to the river trade. Fort Nelson, they agreed, served as a shield to trade and protected the inhabitants of Jefferson County. Three of the commissioners favored the establishment of a post at the mouth of the Kentucky. The mouth of the Limestone, opposed by them, was advocated by the fourth commissioner as a suitable site for a fort which would afford protection to Fayette County and at the same time would induce immigrants to locate between the Ohio and the settlements already established.<sup>67</sup>

Combatant and non-combatant alike at Detroit and all of the Kentucky settlements awaited the passing of winter with anxious foreboding. British officials fully expected the coming of the Americans at the earliest pos-

<sup>65</sup> Executive Papers, Virginia State Archives, November 30, 1782.

<sup>66</sup> December 15, 1782.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> The mouth of the Licking and Limestone were opposed by the three Commissioners on account of their location so far up the river that it would be impracticable to supply them with provisions.

sible date with the design of extending their frontier in the Northwest as far as possible, and thus in the event of peace getting control of the fur-trade. Clark's threatenings to march against the other unfriendly Indians as he had against the Shawnee kept the tribes in continual turmoil. They were already restive under the restraint of British leaders and looked upon the policy of retrenchment in supplying them with presents as a step towards their complete abandonment to the conquerors.

Clark likewise beheld the coming of spring with apprehension. Messengers were dispatched to the Chickasaws and Creeks to induce them to enter into treaty relations and to obtain their lands which would naturally come within the Virginia boundaries, if they could be acquired, as advocated by Clark, at moderate rates. 70 Clark appealed to the commissioners to assist him in strengthening the defenses. Again he urged the importance of Fort Nelson as the "key to the country". As a protection to the eastern Kentucky settlements, he again advocated the construction of one or more garrisons farther up the river. To complete his plan for foiling that of the enemy would necessitate the embodiment of fifteen hundred troops which were to march against the Indian stronghold at the head of the Wabash. In this way he proposed to convince the Indians that their very existence depended upon preserving peace with the Americans. A garrison of regular troops was to be stationed at Vincennes with supplies sufficient to equip a force which might be brought together at any time for the purpose of penetrating "into any Quarter of the Enemy's Country at pleasure".

<sup>68</sup> Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XI, p. 351.

<sup>69</sup> Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. XI, p. 336.

<sup>70</sup> Draper Manuscript Collections, Vol. 52, J, 65. December 19, 1782. Virginia in this manner was to establish her right to charter boundaries and counteract the claims set up by some of the States of sovereignty by purchase.

<sup>71</sup> Executive Papers, Virginia State Archives, February 25, 1783.

No further effort was made to carry out these plans, for by the middle of April official announcement of the peace preliminaries and the cessation of hostilities had been sent to the frontier settlements. The proclamation of a general peace soon followed.<sup>72</sup>

To what extent the situation in the West influenced the final terms can not be set forth in this study. The evidence presented serves to show that during the last year of the War American military control over the Northwest had been strengthened.

<sup>72</sup> Harrison's Letter Book, April 9, 1783, in the Virginia State Archives.

# NATIVISM IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

BY ARTHUR C. COLE

Political nativism, as it appeared in the three decades preceding the Civil War, was a movement of protest against the part which foreigners and foreign-born citizens were allowed to play, whether legally or fraudulently, in the practical workings of the American political system, and against the social problems and economic burdens which foreign immigration was thrusting upon the United States. "America for the Americans" was the watch-word: it was interpreted to mean that none but the native-born should be elected to hold office. The leading tenet of the nativists required an extension of the residence requirement for naturalization so as to insure that the foreigner had ample time to lose all active political interest in his fatherland and to fit himself for the duties of American citizenship. In the Northern Atlantic States. where the Irish were especially numerous and the Roman Catholic hierarchy powerful and active, nativism had also a strongly anti-Catholic tinge.1 There were three outbursts of nativism, one in each of the three decades noted. but only in the last case did the movement enter the field of national politics with any possibility of success. It was at its best when it operated locally in the field of municipal and State politics, where it oftentimes sought, as a healthy movement for reform, to bring public attention to real evils and to real needs.

The declaration was frequently made by nativist leaders that foreigners were the objects of hostility not on account of either their birth or their religion but rather because of "their moral and political idiosyncrasies, hostile

<sup>1</sup> Scisco's Political Nativism in New York, pp. 16 ff., 243 ff.

259

to our interests." A proper question, therefore, is: What justification was there for a political organization in the Lower Mississippi Valley upon such a basis?

There is a general impression that the Southern portion of the Union did not witness the results, whether good or evil, of the flood of immigrants that was pouring into the country in steadily increasing volume. The great body of them, indeed, probably seeking a climate and environment similar to that of the country of their nativity, landed at the Northern ports and settled in and about the large cities on the coast or made their way with the westward movement into the interior. New Orleans, on the other hand, was a popular port of entry with the immigrating aliens, since it had, at that time when immigration was left to State regulation, no effective restrictions upon the admission of persons of questionable physical, mental, or moral capacity. By 1850, New Orleans was second only to New York in the number of foreign arrivals.3 The aim of those who selected the Southern port was usually to make their way to the Northwest by following up the Mississippi River and its tributaries.4 The fittest of them did so but since the United States was then the dumping ground of crowded Europe, whose nations sent over many of the inmates of their alms-houses, asylums, hospitals, and prisons, the larger cities and thickly settled districts acted as a filter which kept behind the scum, those unfit to attack the problems of the frontier. Thus Louisiana and Missouri retained a large share of the less desirable foreigners, as did Kentucky on the other side of the Missis-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Whitney's Defence of American Policy, pp. 238, 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Bromwell's History of Immigration, pp. 145, 149, 153, 157, 161, 165.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Now and then a European traveler prophesied that the future would see ocean-going vessels making their way up the Mississippi and its tributaries and by canal to Lake Michigan. Ziegler's Reise durch Nord-Americka, in Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XII, p. 312.

sippi River. These three States contained in 1850 nearly two-thirds of the total number of foreigners in the South.<sup>5</sup>

The problems regarding the foreigner in New Orleans, St. Louis, and Louisville were little different from those in their sister cities of the North. They had a large foreign-born population, which in St. Louis outnumbered the native-born. Their hospitals were largely filled with foreign-born patients, their jails and prisons with foreignborn convicts, their alms-houses with foreign-born paupers, their streets with foreign-born mendicants, pickpockets, thieves, and their kind. In the year ending June 1, 1850, Louisiana supported nearly twice as many foreign paupers as native-born, while Missouri convicted nearly three times as many foreign as native criminals.7 Charity Hospital, New Orleans, in various years admitted from two to eight times as many foreigners as natives.8 Inasmuch as the foreign-born population of these two States was scarcely one-fifth of that of the native-born, the seriousness of the problems growing out of foreign immigration is evident. The foreigners in general retained their pride for the fatherland and associated together in clannish exclusiveness, forming their own secret societies, which were sometimes political, and even their own military companies.9 In addition, they constituted a source

<sup>5</sup> DeBow's Compendium of the Seventh Census, p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> In New Orleans the two elements were nearly equal, and in Louisville the foreigners were nearly one-half as numerous as the native Americans. — DeBow's Compendium of the Seventh Census, p. 399.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> DeBow's Compendium of the Seventh Census, pp. 163, 164; Niles' Register, Vol. LXVII, p. 384.

<sup>\*</sup>A joint committee appointed by the Louisiana legislature in 1835 reported the treatment of 1677 American and 4287 foreign patients in the preceding year.—Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX, p. 62. In 1843 there were 5012 admissions of which 3859 were foreigners.—Niles' Register, Vol. LXV, p. 343.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In 1854 there were in New Orleans secret societies of Germans, Irish, Portugese, and Hebrews besides the Turners and the St. George Society. New Orleans Bulletin, March 17, 1854. Every large city had its company of Irish Jasper Greens, Hibernia Greens, etc.

of political evil with citizenship often illegally conferred upon them and as the ignorant tools of corrupt politicans in innumerable election frauds.

The inevitable result was the early development of nativist sentiment especially in the State of Louisiana. In 1835 a representative of the property-holding interests of New Orleans protested against "the great expense that we encounter for the support of foreign paupers that are vomited on our shores - by thousands." "Is there no remedy?" he asked. "These are among the first to join societies, or to be led by the nose by them, in the war of the 'poor against the rich' - fools that would perish in the streets and on the highways, were not means provided, by property, for their support!" In the same year there were expressions of opinion in New Orleans against allowing naturalized citizens to hold office. Nativist sentiment soon developed to such a point that associations of native Americans were formed in New Orleans, St. Louis. Louisville, and even in Lexington. The fruits of this movement were seen in petitions to Congress from citizens in various parts of Louisiana and Missouri asking for a repeal of the naturalization laws and sometimes for a law to exclude foreign paupers. 11 Alexander Porter, who had formerly represented Louisiana in the United States Senate, came to believe, as a result of the increased immigration, in the necessity of the amendment of the naturalization laws. Said Porter: "The mass who come are of the poorer and more ignorant classes and show the envy and hatred in which they have been converted to all possessors of property, they are naturally and inevitably thrown into the hands of Demagogues here who flatter their passions, and give a direction to those prejudices which they know make a part, as it were, of their nature."

<sup>10</sup> Niles' Register, Vol. XLIX, p. 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Congressional Globe, 26th Congress, 1st session, pp. 104, 186; Niles' Register, Vol. LVIII, p. 10; Vol. LIX, p. 394.

He himself favored a fourteen year period of residence before naturalization and stricter laws in general.<sup>12</sup> The lower house of the Louisiana legislature, however, by an overwhelming vote passed a resolution requesting their Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their influence in favor of a twenty-one year period of residence before naturalization.<sup>13</sup>

It was soon evident that the Whigs of Louisiana and also, though to a much less extent, the Whigs of Missouri and Kentucky were becoming infected by nativistic sentiments. This was a natural development. The Whig party at large represented the aristocratic elements of the nation, those naturally unsympathetic with those classes which were socially and economically less fortunate than themselves. Partly as a result of this fact, partly as the result of the attraction of the name "Democratic" and of definite inducements held out by the Democratic party. the foreign-born voter almost invariably joined the Democratic camp. This meant that the foreign vote, holding the balance of power, was cast on one side of the scales to the great detriment of the Whig cause which was thus overbalanced. Whigs of the Lower Mississippi Valley were able to appreciate the importance of this fact. Porter said, "Such a mass of ignorance and passion has a most dangerous influence when the parties in the country are nearly balanced." 14 General Taylor, indeed, was unwilling in 1848 to make a contest on strict party lines as the Whigs would be sure to be defeated "particularly when we take into consideration the immense influx of foreigners into the Union who are daily arriving and all of whom are carried to the polls whether naturalized or not,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Alexander Porter to Crittenden, January 2, 1841. — Crittenden Manuscripts.

<sup>13</sup> Niles' Register, Vol. LIX, p. 404.

<sup>14</sup> Alexander Porter to Crittenden, January 2, 1841. — Crittenden Manuscripts.

ninety of whom out of a hundred if not more vote the Democratic ticket." 15

There were two logical extremes of policy: for the Whigs to bid against the Democracy to secure a share of the foreign vote or to take a stand against immigration with the idea of stopping the influx of foreigners from which the Democratic party alone was profiting. The Whigs in general chose to do neither; their natural inclinations prevented them from doing the one, the other alternative was too un-American to win their favor. They were, however, in a position to realize the importance of the evils consequent upon the unrestricted immigration of the time and, accustomed to opposing the foreign-born citizens as political opponents, Whigs were naturally attracted to political nativism.

The Whigs of Louisiana were practically compelled to assume nativistic ground by the tactics of their opponents. Before a special election of a State Senator in New Orleans in September, 1843, hundreds of foreigners were fraudulently naturalized by Judge B. C. Elliott of the city court of Lafayette for which he was promised fees from the local Democratic Committee. 16 At the election the naturalization papers were recognized as valid at all the polls except one, and there the ballot-box was seized and destroyed by the would-be voters and their friends.17 So strong was the impression of fraud and so loud were the protests of the Whigs that the lower house of the Louisiana legislature appointed a committee to investigate the charges against Judge Elliott. As a result of the report of this committee the House preferred against him articles of impeachment which were tried before the Senate. Elliott was found guilty on all the articles and was formally removed from office.18 The Senate decided, however, de-

<sup>15</sup> Taylor to Crittenden, March 25, 1848. - Crittenden Manuscripts.

<sup>16</sup> Senate Documents, 28th Congress, 2nd session, Vol. IX, No. 173.

<sup>17</sup> Niles' Register, Vol. LXVI, p. 64.

<sup>18</sup> Senate Documents, 28th Congress, 2nd session, Vol. IX, No. 173.

spite the protests of the Whig press, that the verdict did not affect the validity of the certificates of naturalization issued by Judge Elliott.<sup>19</sup>

At the municipal election in April, 1844, and at the State and congressional election on the first of July, there were further clashes in New Orleans between Whigs and naturalized citizens under Democratic direction. The Democrats insisted on the voting rights of persons possessing certificates of naturalization granted in former Judge Elliott's court, and prevented Whig citizens from voting whenever the Whig election officers refused to admit such votes. Public sentiment became strongly aroused. A public mass meeting was held on the Fourth of July, in which the French creoles took a leading part. It protested against "the recent outrage upon the elective franchise", upheld the rights of legal voters, whether native-born or naturalized, and resolved "That we will not permit mercenary foreigners who have by fraud, corruption and perjury, obtained spurious certificates of naturalization, to interfere with our rights and franchises bought with the best blood of our ancestors and secured to us by the constitution and laws of the state - and we solemnly warn them not to attempt to interfere with those rights — an attempt which they may be assured will be met and repulsed whenever and wherever it may be again made. ", 20

There followed, nevertheless, in November even more serious difficulties in connection with the presidential election. The Plaquemines frauds were committed, despite the repeated protests of the Whigs, largely by persons of foreign birth under Democratic leadership. Excitement became even more intense. When the legislature met, the Whig House promptly ordered an investigation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> He was convicted of illegally granting about 1748 certificates of naturalization. The question of their validity was shortly tested before the Federal Courts.—Niles' Register, Vol. LXVI, p. 277.

<sup>20</sup> Niles' Register, Vol. LXVI, pp. 323, 324.

which revealed the part that foreign voters had played largely by resort to fraud and violence in giving the electoral vote of Louisiana to the Democratic candidates. A resolution was therefore passed requesting the Louisiana Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their endeavors to have the naturalization laws amended so as to prevent fraudulent voting.<sup>21</sup> Thus it was that "Whiggery" in Louisiana became so strongly nativistic that no room was left for a State-wide independent third party movement on that basis.

The Whigs of Kentucky, especially those of Louisville, showed similar inclinations toward nativism. George D. Prentice, editor of the Louisville Journal, an influential Whig paper, was extremely active in exposing the evils that resulted from unrestricted immigration. His aggressive editorial policy aroused the hostility of the foreign-born against himself and his party not less than it aroused a vigorous nativism among the native-born. A series of clashes led up to a serious outbreak at the time of the August election in 1844. Nativists decided to station themselves at the polls to prevent illegal voting, whereupon the editor of a local German paper, the Beobachter, rashly printed advice to the German voters to go to the polls armed and prepared to force a recognition of their rights. This advice the Journal translated and circulated with observations as to the seriousness of the situation. The native citizens were aroused; a mob gathered before the Beobachter building and threatened the editor and his press. He and a few of the more active German leaders sought safety in flight across the river to Indiana where they remained until the excitement subsided.

In Missouri nativism developed more quietly until, in August, 1845, in the election of members of a convention to remodel the State Constitution, four out of the St. Louis

<sup>21</sup> Niles' Register, Vol. LXVII, p. 384.

delegation of six were Native Americans.<sup>22</sup> In the charter election at St. Louis in April of the following year the whole "American" ticket was elected, the Whigs having placed no ticket in the field.<sup>23</sup> In both Kentucky and Missouri State nativist organizations were formed and were represented at the first National Convention of the Native Americans at Philadelphia in July, 1845.<sup>24</sup>

Following the presidential contest of 1844, Johnson and Barrow, the two Whig United States Senators from Louisiana, openly advocated a modification of the naturalization laws, especially the extension of the residence requirement to twenty-one years. When Congress convened Johnson introduced a resolution into the Senate, instructing the Judiciary Committee to inquire into the expediency of such a modification, and as to the necessity of introducing additional guarantees against fraudulent naturalization, against fraud and violence at elections, and against the introduction of foreign convicts.25 To make possible a thorough investigation of these points, Barrow, his colleague, submitted supplementary resolutions enlarging the scope of the inquiry and giving the Committee authority to send for persons and papers and to take testimony by commission.26 Both resolutions passed and Commissioners examined into conditions at all the chief ports, including New Orleans. The Commissioners at New Orleans found that they were seldom able to secure the attendance of Democrats as witnesses; after having examined a number of Whigs, who were pronounced in their nativism and who explained the local situation, they

<sup>22</sup> Niles' Register, Vol. LXVIII, p. 400.

<sup>23</sup> Niles' Register, Vol. LXX, p. 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Lee's American Party in Politics, p. 229; Niles' Register, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 292, 307.

<sup>25</sup> Senate Journal, 28th Congress, 2nd session, pp. 30, 37.

<sup>26</sup> Senate Journal, 28th Congress, 2nd session, pp. 40, 44.

Another resolution by Johnson called for such papers in the Department of State as might throw light on the transportation of paupers and criminals to this country by the European governments.

completed their report by adding to this testimony the data gathered in the two investigations previously made by the Louisiana legislature.<sup>27</sup>

The nativistic inclinations of the Whigs increased with their disappointment over Clay's defeat in 1844. This they attributed in large part to the solid array in the Democratic ranks of the foreign-born voters augmented by an unprecedented series of fraudulent naturalizations in the Atlantic seaboard States and in Louisiana. Whigs in the Lower Mississippi Valley commented on this point with great bitterness of feeling. This was true even in Alabama and in Mississippi, States in which very little attention had hitherto been given to either the foreigner or the nativist. "By enlisting foreigners on their side through the darkest frauds ever practiced in a free Government. Democratic leaders have come into power." declared the Tuscaloosa Monitor of November 20th. "The question will probably arise whether the Government is to be controlled by the native population, or by rabble foreigners, many of whom are from the lazar-houses and jails of Europe. It is not to be disguised that the most disorderly, profligate, and dangerous classes in our large cities are ignorant foreigners." 28 The Vicksburg Constitutionalist filled its first issue after the election with nativist arguments and soon became the organ for this movement.29 Clay's friends everywhere in condoling with him over his defeat burst out in bitter denunciation of the part played by foreigners in making possible the Democratic victory. "With their name, their corruptions, and their numbers they will continue to beat us forever — unless, indeed, we can check them by restraining, if not destroying, the influence of foreigners — There is a deep feeling on that subject throughout the country,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Senate Documents, 28th Congress, 2nd session, Vol. IX, No. 173, pp. 144-197.

<sup>28</sup> Miller's Bench and Bar of Georgia, Vol. II, p. 388.

<sup>29</sup> Mississippi Historical Society Publications, Vol. IX, p. 186.

which I hope will be responded to from Washington, and I think Whig politicians need not be afraid of it — for if we cannot whip our opponents on that question we are whipped forever." So wrote a correspondent of Crittenden who was personally familiar with the situation in every part of the Lower Mississippi Valley. Clay himself saw reasons for alterations in the naturalization laws, but feared that the time was not quite ripe for a correction; he acknowledged strong sympathies for the Native Americans and their party and thought that they ought "to cultivate friendly relations together." 31

As the excitement which followed the election of 1844 subsided and new and important issues, the Mexican War question and the sectional quarrel over the territorial question, came to the front, nativism everywhere steadily declined and passed from the field of active politics until new conditions furnished a basis for a new and greater nativist movement. The revival of nativism, however, did not come for several years when it arrived under conditions which gave promise of considerable success.

Stronger than ever before were the motives for what proved to be the most successful expression of political nativism in American history. For one thing, the period of the early fifties, under the impulse of famine conditions and of unsuccessful revolutionary movements in Europe, brought an unprecedented flood of foreign immigration. As a result the States of the Lower Mississippi Valley received both desirable and undesirable accessions to their population. The additions of questionable desirability were of two classes: one was made up of the physically and mentally defective immigrants who were often directed by immigrant agents to take ship for New Orleans where the provisions for excluding them were not strin-

<sup>30</sup> A. T. Burnley to Crittenden, December 3, 1844. — Crittenden Manuscripts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Coleman's Life of J. J. Crittenden, Vol. I, p. 224; Clay to J. M. Clayton, December 2, 1844. — Clayton Manuscripts.

gent. 32 and who in the Southwest, like their kind elsewhere. became parasites in the large cities; the other included many "red" reformers who, as political exiles from their native lands, were naturally ultra-Democratic, who did not hesitate to criticise American Democracy as a mongrel or bogus type, and even to designate the United States as a sham land of liberty. As to the latter, groups of the more aggressive sort gathered in the cities where they often organized so as to secure for the foreign vote a larger political influence. A German of this type, as editor of the Anzeiger des Westens at St. Louis, at an early date recommended that the Germans form a separate political party, a proposal which stirred up considerable excitement.33 Louisville became a center for the German political exiles and the headquarters of a national association of "Free Germans" which was formed so that the Germans might be able "to exercise a power proportionate to their numbers and adapted to their principles." 34

A second factor which helped to determine the strength of this later nativist movement in the Southwest was the bearing of foreign immigration on the slavery issue. About 1850 Southern slaveholders began to see that the extensive population, prosperity, and political strength of the North were in large part due to the accession of emigrants from Europe, who were coming to American shores by the hundreds of thousands every year, bringing annually to the North an adult population larger than the voting strength of certain Southern States.

<sup>32</sup> The State Department informed the mayor of New Orleans of this fact. — Sanderson's Republican Landmarks, p. 80.

This was in spite of the fact that Louisiana had in 1850 enacted more stringent legislation to prevent the immigration of persons who would be liable to become a public charge or a public nuisance. — Cluskey's *Political Text-book*, p. 219.

<sup>33</sup> St. Louis Intelligencer, August 19, September 24, 25, 1851; National Intelligencer, September 11, 1851.

<sup>34</sup> National Intelligencer, April 27, 1854.

Realizing this, they became ready to oppose in Congress proposals for a homestead law in which the unnaturalized foreigner should be given the same treatment as the American citizen and proposals for equal political rights for foreigners in the Territories, both of which they interpreted as attempts at providing inducements for further accessions to the strength of the North. As the foreign immigrants and the foreign-born citizens, who came to this country instinctively prejudiced against slavery, began to display their anti-slavery propensities, so many Southerners regardless of party affiliations beheld in nativism a means of self-defense which they felt would aid them in the dread sectional controversy.

They felt that nativism would serve as a cloak to hide their sectional motives in opposing such a liberal treatment of the foreigner as would stimulate further immigration to the North. Indeed, they so used it in 1854 in the debates on the general Homestead Bill and on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. As to the proposition to give political rights to unnaturalized foreigners in the new Territories, Senator Atchison of Missouri, a Democrat, declared: "It is not that I fear the votes of the foreign population upon the question of slavery in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska; but it is upon the great principle that none but American citizens should exercise the right of suffrage and the right of holding office, either in the States or Territories." 36 On the question of extending homestead rights to unnaturalized aliens the Southerners again advocated this same principle that native, or even naturalized, citizens who had rendered some service to the

<sup>35</sup> Many of these foreigners were ready with expressions of sympathy for the negro and denounced slavery as a "political and moral cancer." About the time when the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was before Congress they began to speak out with especial boldness. The *Illinois Staats Zeitung*. September 20, 1854, issued an appeal for a Republican party, a great American "Liberty Party." *Missouri Republican*, September 25, 1854.

<sup>36</sup> Congressional Globe, 33rd Congress, 1st session, Appendix, p. 301.

country, ought to be favored over newly arrived aliens, who were unacquainted with our language and institutions and often of questionable reputation and moral character. Some, however, revealed their real motive. Senator C. C. Clay of Alabama, who in 1838 had declared that foreigners ought to be treated liberally and ought to be given preëmption rights, now declared against the policy of giving them homestead rights on the ground that no measure was "better calculated to excite, to foster, and encourage a Native American feeling" than the Homestead Bill with this feature. He predicted that if the Bill passed unamended a powerful Native American party would soon appear in the Southern States.<sup>37</sup>

Nativism was revived in the early fifties first in the Northern States where under favoring conditions an organization was formed, which came to be generally known as the Know Nothing party; soon a fiery wave of nativism swept over the whole country. In the early part of 1854 it began to make its appearance in the Lower Mississippi Valley. In New Orleans, where fraudulent naturalization and fraudulent voting continued to flourish, nativist sentiment revived in a more aggressive form; a secret political order was organized, a "reform" ticket was placed in the field, and in a local election in March, 1854, the majority of the "reform" candidates were elected.38 A little later at St. Louis, the nativists suddenly developed great strength and won an important victory. 39 Similar success rewarded nativist efforts in the municipal elections in Nashville and elsewhere in the Southwest. 40 This was rapidly followed by the formation of State organizations which sent delegates to represent them at the National Councils of the order. Alabama was represented at the first Grand Council of the order in June, 1854.

<sup>37</sup> Congressional Globe, 33rd Congress, 1st session, p. 1705.

<sup>38</sup> New Orleans Bulletin, March 29, 1854.

<sup>39</sup> St. Louis Intelligencer, August 1, 2, 4, and 7, 1854.

<sup>40</sup> Nashville Republican Banner, October 2, 3, and 4, 1854.

In Mississippi, as in Louisiana, there was soon a strong nativist organization of indigenous origin which remained for some time without any affiliation with the national order.

The local and State organizations of the Know Nothing or American party in the Lower Mississippi Valley did not sympathize with that strong anti-Catholic feature which was a necessary concomitant, indeed, almost a synonym of nativism in the North. Where there were few Catholics - and in most of the Southern States they constituted but a very small fraction of the population most Americans disclaimed any intention of religious proscription.41 In Louisiana, where the strong Creole element was largely Catholic, persons of that faith were admitted into the local order in which many of them occupied prominent positions. An attempt was made by the Southern representatives in the American National Council of June, 1855, to abolish the religious test from the party creed; because it failed, the regular Louisiana delegation was given no recognition by the national organization.42 The Louisiana State Council rejected the religious test imposed by the National Convention and immediately nominated for the approaching State election a mixed ticket of Protestants and Catholics headed by a Catholic Creole candidate for Governor. 43 Representatives of the American party of Louisiana continued to demand that the anti-Catholic feature of the national platform be struck out.44 The Alabama and several other State organizations in the South officially disclaimed any intention of religious proscription45

<sup>41</sup> Nashville Republican Banner, January 21, 26, and April 11, 1855; Mobile Advertiser, May 5, June 16, July 8, and September 1, 1855.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> New York Herald, June 6-16, 1855; New Orleans Bulletin, June 23 and 25, 1855.

<sup>43</sup> New Orleans Bulletin, July 6, 1855; New Orleans Bee, July 6 and 7, 1855.

<sup>44</sup> Speech of Eustis in Congressional Globe, 34th Congress, 1st session, p. 166.

<sup>45</sup> Mobile Advertiser, June 16, 1855; Savannah Republican, June 30,

The American party in the Southwest, however, suffered from the association with it of religious proscription and from the charge of religious intolerance. It succeeded in the State elections in 1855, nevertheless, in attracting a following of about the same size as the Whig opposition which it replaced. This included victories in Kentucky and Tennessee, although in the latter Andrew Johnson, a Democrat, was reëlected Governor in a close contest. Altogether, in Louisiana and the four States on the eastern side of the lower Mississippi, the Americans polled nearly 215,000 votes, or only sixteen thousand less than their veteran opponents.

Throughout the South, particularly in the Southwest, the members of the defunct Whig party were strongly attracted to the possibilities in this American party as an effective reorganization of the opposition. The traditional conservatism of the Whig party and the traditional flavor of aristocracy were taken over by it.<sup>46</sup> Even on the repudiated bonds question in Mississippi the Know Nothings, like the Whigs, recognized the obligations of the State to arrange for their payment.<sup>47</sup>

Conservative Whig slaveholders, and Democrats as well, were attracted to the order also because of its position on the slavery question. It was able in the National Councils to take conservative middle ground, and the Northern members of the party for a time generally evinced a sincere desire to put down the slavery agitation and to check the tide of anti-slavery in their section. The leadership in the Southwest of such men as Senator Bell of Tennessee gave a definite standing to the order and a

<sup>1855;</sup> National Intelligencer, September 6 and October 23, 1855; New Orleans Bulletin, August 22, 1855; Lee's Origin of the American Party, pp. 225-228.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> The Kosciusko (Mississippi) Southern Sun, April 1, 1854, called it an organization "gotten up by an infamous conclave of Whig aristocrats in New Orleans."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The Kosciusko (Mississippi) Southern Sun, November 4, 1854; Jackson Mississippian, December 9, 1854; Vicksburg Sentinel, April 24, 1855.

proof, if such were needed, of the respectability of the movement.

It is clear, however, that emphasis came to be laid on the sectional question at the expense of a genuine nativ-The American Representatives in Congress from the Southwest were few in numbers but all were surpassed in sincere nativist efforts by Senator Stephens of Mississippi, a former Democrat, who became so active as an advocate of a reform of the naturalization laws (to require a twenty-one year residence before citizenship should be conferred upon an alien) that he was repudiated by the Democratic party of his State.48 Emphasis in the American party was rather laid on the all-important slavery question: more space in the local platforms and greater attention on the hustings were given to this question than to the fundamental tenets of the party. By this time, however, the American party in the Southern States was influenced by motives vastly different from those of the founders and from those of the nativists of the preceding decade.

Nativism in the South, indeed, had become a party question resting largely on sectional ground. It was on that basis that its strength and weakness was largely determined. It was on that basis that it rested its case in the election of 1856 when it offered in Millard Fillmore, as its candidate for the presidency, a man who as chief executive had been willing to concede to the South a generous consideration in national politics and who took the same ground as candidate for another presidential term. By that time, however, the national organization had been torn to dissension by the force of an unrelenting sectionalism; the strength of the party was in the South but, except in Louisiana and Missouri, it stood in a peculiarly

<sup>48</sup> Congressional Globe, 33rd Congress, 2nd session, pp. 15, 24-26; Congressional Globe, 34th Congress, 1st session, pp. 6, 450, 1409; Vicksburg Sentinel, December 27, 1854, and April 11, 1855.

### NATIVISM IN LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY 27

anomalous position. It took but a few years more for the Southern opposition to drop the "American" alias as a disguise that had been penetrated. In the Lower Mississippi Valley the survivals of a genuine nativism continued to drag out a slowly expiring existence.

# THE INDIAN POLICY OF THE COLONY OF BRIT-ISH COLUMBIA IN COMPARISON WITH THAT OF ADJACENT AMERICAN TERRITORIES

#### By WILLIAM J. TRIMBLE

An opportunity for a somewhat unique study in Western settlement appears to be offered in a comparison of the history of Western Canada with that of the Northern Commonwealths of our own trans-Mississippi region. In physiography and in character of population the two areas are on the whole quite similar, but marked differentiation has occurred in government. Consequently the political and administrative arrangements and adjustments which have been made during the process of Western development in the two regions would seem to constitute a field for study which is of peculiar interest to students of American history. While the locality itself which we shall consider in this paper lies outside the Mississippi Valley, a brief excursus into the field of study here suggested may not be entirely foreign to the purposes of this Association.

The Colony of British Columbia was brought into being and nurtured through its early years by a series of important "rushes" in search of gold, the first of which took place in 1858. This series of rushes was a part of that immense overflow into new mining regions which followed the slackening of the California output in the later fifties, and Californians (a term applied to all who came from California irrespective of nationality) predominated, therefore, in the population of the new British Colony, much as they did in the camps which contemporaneously were springing up in the Territories to the south. Governmental organization for the Colony was author-

ized by Act of Parliament, August 2, 1858, and James Douglas (later Sir James) became the first Governor. Douglas established an administrative system and a mining code drawn by direct imitation from systems in Australia and New Zealand, and he initiated those measures which together formed the Indian policy of British Columbia—a policy which was continued in its essential features when the Colony in 1871 became a Province of the Dominion.¹ This system, however, it should be clearly understood, is quite distinct from that of Canada.²

The main features of the Indian policy of the Colony of British Columbia may be summed up as follows: (1) the title to the soil was not recognized to be in the Indians; (2) there were no annuities and no payments to the Indians; (3) there was no special provision for education; (4) a system of small reserves was established, in the assignment of which the principle of sequestration from whites was not followed; and (5) Indians were held in the eyes of the law to be fellow subjects with white men.

The adoption of this system was not due to differences between the Indian populations north and south of the line in the country west of the Rockies. Some differences, it is true, there were. A great part of the natives of British Columbia had been more uninterruptedly under the tutelage of the Hudson's Bay Company than those across the boundary, and there was a larger sprinkling of half-breeds; no one tribe in the Colony, on the other hand,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As to the origin of the administrative system, see Correspondence Book of Sir James Douglas, pp. 44-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The principal features of the Canadian policy were the following:
(a) small annuities were paid; (b) Indian title to land was not distinctly denied, nor clearly recognized; (c) reserves were assigned on the ratio of one square mile to each family of five; (d) the mounted police were used in administering justice; (e) a distinct policy of education was followed, which included subsidizing of denominational schools and teaching of practical industry. See an article by William Trant entitled *The Treatment of the Canadian Indians* in the Westminster Review, July, 1895, Vol. 144, pp. 506-527.

was so powerful or so well organized as the Nez Perces of Idaho, nor did the Indians of the interior of British Columbia possess so many horses as did those to the south. Yet the Shuswaps were very like the Couer d'Alenes, or the Cayuses, and the untamability of the nomads south of the Snake was matched by the wildness and ferocity of the Indians to the far north. In numbers, organization, and character in fact it is difficult to see that the natives of the one section were better adapted to any specific system than were those of the other.<sup>3</sup>

The non-recognition of Indian title to the soil on the part of the Colony of British Columbia was due in the first place to lack of funds in the Colony and to the refusal of the Imperial Government to assume any financial responsibility in the matter; but that which arose from necessity was soon thought to be expedient and right and became the basic principle of administration. "The title of the Indians in fee of the public lands, or any portion thereof", wrote Hon. Joseph W. Trutch, an eminent colonial official, "has never been acknowledged by Government, but on the contrary is distinctly denied."

At about the same time that this principle was being developed in the Colony, administrators of Indian affairs in the adjacent American Territories were advocating one similar thereto in place of the traditional American practice. C. H. Hale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Washington Territory, wrote as follows in 1863: "I am well satisfied that a radical change should be made in our mode of treatment towards the Indians. I do not consider the language as any too strong when I say, that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Statements as to numbers of Indian population may be found in Documents Relating to Vancouver's Island Laid Before the House of Commons, 1849, pp. 9, 10; also Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, pp. 366, 367. Information as to grouping of natives in British Columbia may be obtained from Tolmie and Dawson's Comparative Vocabularies of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia.

<sup>4</sup> Papers Relating to the Indian Land Question, pp. 12, 18; also Appendix, pp. 10-13.

for us to negotiate treaties with them as it is usually done is little better than a farce. We profess by such an act to recognize their equality in status and in power, and to clothe them with a national existence that does not at all pertain to them. Instead of thus exalting them in mere form, they should be treated as they really are, the wards of the government." Other quotations could be given to show that many of the Indian officials on the field thought that the acknowledgement of Indian rights to the soil was a fundamental error.<sup>5</sup>

Since no land cessions were to be paid for under the British Columbia system, there was no policy of bestowing annuities or subsidies, although gifts were sometimes made for special reasons. To the students of American Indian history special interest attaches in this connection to the judgment of Mr. William Duncan, of Metlakahtla, a man of great wisdom and success in his dealings with Indians. Mr. Duncan wrote as follows: "The policy of dealing out gifts to individual Indians I consider cannot be too strongly deprecated, as it is both degrading and demoralizing. To treat the Indians as paupers is to perpetuate their babyhood and burdensomeness. To treat them as savages, whom we fear and who must be tamed and kept in good temper by presents, will perpetuate their barbarism and increase their insolence. I would therefore strongly urge the Government to set their faces against such a policy."6

The annuity system as administered south of the boundary was the cause of much dissatisfaction. Shrewd and self-respecting Indians—and there were a good many such—felt ashamed to receive annuities. "My land", said one of them, "is not to be sold for a few blankets and a few yards of cloth." The goods were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1863, p. 442; Mullan's Report on Military Road, p. 79; Contributions of the Historical Society of Montana, Vol. VI, p. 284.

<sup>6</sup> Papers Relating to the Indian Land Question, Appendix C, pp. 13-15.

often ill-suited to the needs of the Indians, consisting at times, as one agent described them, of "loose ends of New York stores." The agents and superintendents thought the principle itself of the annuity system indefensible; but held that, if it had to be retained, annuities ought to be issued, not to all members of the tribes, but to those only who staved on the reservations and showed inclination for work and progress. The main charge, however, against the system, and a charge urged again and again by the administrators of the Northwest, was that the goods were purchased on the Atlantic Coast, and that there was consequently an undue expenditure and an unwise selection. A serious fault seemed to lie, as a newspaper correspondent expressed it, with "the Great Father in New York who annually gets contracts for furnishing things to poor Lo."

It can not be denied, on the other hand, that there were peculation and mismanagement on the part of some of the agents in charge of the Indians, and that some of them were not averse to making deals with local merchants. We lacked indeed effective administration. Efficiency could not be expected of a system which, questionable under ideal conditions, was put into effect by men who were chosen on a wrong basis, and who lacked training and esprit d' corps.

The Colony of British Columbia made no special effort to educate the Indians. It was averred on the part of the Government that (to quote the language of a report) "the Government merely deferred the subject, believing that it was far more important in the interests of the community at large to first reclaim the natives from their savage state, and teach them the practical and rudi-

<sup>7</sup> San Francisco Daily Bulletin, July 24, 1862, and January 28, 1864; Davenport's Recollections of an Indian Agent in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, Vol. VIII, No. 2, June, 1907, p. 108; The Weekly Oregonian, September 7, 1861; Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1860, p. 185; 1861, p. 159; 1862, pp. 303, 397, 407; 1863, p. 459.

mentary lessons of civilized life." Beyond establishing reserves, however, and placing the Indians under law, one fails to see how the Government tried to teach them those "practical and rudimentary lessons." Certainly there was no effort by the Government to teach the Indians agriculture or any of the practical arts, as there was south of the line.

Whatever the other shortcomings of the American method of dealing with the Indians, in respect to education at least the American system appears to advantage in comparison with that of British Columbia. Schools were gradually established on all reservations. system did not work well when forms of education then in vogue were employed. There might be indeed quite a furore when a reservation school was first opened, and the novelty was unworn; but the white child's spelling book or reader soon proved very tame to the young Indian, the more so because of the difficulties of pronuncia-The principal cause, however, for the failure of the day schools was the nomadic habits of the parents; hardly had the Indian child started to school, when away would go the family to the fishing or hunting grounds or to the camas fields. Teachers who were in earnest met this difficulty by establishing boarding schools, wherein the children could be kept removed from the parental impulsiveness. The next step was natural. These schools began to emphasize practical training, particularly agriculture for the boys and house-keeping for the girls. This step, which was taken at a time when in American educational methods comparatively little attention had been paid seriously to this phase of education, was significant and produced good results.9

In no respect were the contrasts between the Amer-

<sup>8</sup> Papers Relating to the Indian Land Question, Appendix, p. 4.

Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1860, p. 184; 1862,
 p. 263; 1863, pp. 52, 65, 82-84, 449-451, 473; 1864, pp. 73, 74, 85.

ican and British Columbian system of dealing with the Indians more apparent than in the assignment of land. Indian reserves of British Columbia should be clearly distinguished from the Indian reservations of the United States. The latter, as is well known, were large in area. they were assigned to a tribe or a number of tribes: they were founded on the principle of sequestration from the whites; and they were under the supervision of a resident agent. The reserves of British Columbia on the other hand were small; they were assigned to septs or families; they were often contiguous to settlements of whites; and there were no special agents. In size the reserves varied in all degrees from one acre to six thousand acres, the general principle being that each head of family should be allowed ten acres. In addition to their reserves, moreover, the Indians of British Columbia had at first the right to acquire land outside the reserves precisely as white men; a right later modified, however, to the extent that preëmption could be exercised by Indians only by special permission from the Government in each case.

The idea of establishing this system of reserves was suggested to Governor Douglas by Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, the celebrated author, then Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and it was derived by Lytton from a plan in use in South Africa for the settlement of the Kaffirs.<sup>10</sup> In the assignment of reserves Douglas insisted that these in all cases should include, as he phrased it, "their cultivated fields and village sites, for which from habit and association they invariably conceive a strong attachment, and prize more, for that reason, than for the extent or value of the land." The officials of British Columbia as a general thing were more considerate of the prejudices and feelings of the Indians than was usually the case in the United States.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Papers Relating to the Indian Land Question, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> An interesting example of this consideration was an "Ordinance to prevent the violation of Indian graves", which decreed that any one dam-

This reserve system seems to have been well adapted to the conditions of life among the Coast Indians or among those of the lower Fraser, for whose use (since they made their living by fishing or by working for the whites) a small parcel of land was sufficient; but for the pastoral Indians of the interior it seemed manifestly insufficient. When British Columbia entered the Confederation, the Dominion Government tried earnestly to obtain a decided increase in the size of the allotments, but they were raised only to twenty acres. A still more persistent controversy has been waged on behalf of the Indians by Roman Catholic clergymen and some others, who urge recognition of Indian rights to the soil.<sup>12</sup>

There is left for our final consideration the treatment of the Indian in respect to administration of justice. "I have impressed upon the miners," wrote Douglas to Lytton, "the great fact that the law will protect the Indian equally with the white man, and regard him in all respects as a fellow-subject." And to another he said: "The Indian population are considered by the laws of England as fellow-subjects, entitled to protection and punishable, when guilty of offences, through the sole action of the law." <sup>13</sup> It followed on this principle that Indians who committed crimes were punishable as individuals, and that as individuals they were entitled to protection.

If one may venture to formulate any principle with regard to the status of the Indian in our Northwestern Territories, on the other hand, it is that the Indian was to

aging or removing any image, bones, or any article or thing deposited in, on, or near any Indian grave in the Colony, would be liable for a fine of \$100 for the first offense and twelve months' imprisonment at hard labor for the second.—Ordinances of the Legislative Council of British Columbia, session from January to April, 1865, No. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> O'Meara's The Indian Land Question in British Columbia; Papers Relating to Indian Land Question, pp. 27, 28, 86-91, 145-148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Papers Regarding British Columbia, Vol. I, p. 39; Miscellaneous Letters (manuscript), Vol. I, p. 37.

be treated as a member of a tribe and not as a citizen. Certainly it was easier in case of outbreak to take vengeance on a tribe than to bring to justice individuals. Indeed there can scarcely be said to have been for awhile any regulated administration of justice in the case of Indians in the American Northwest. The reservation system weakened the ancient tribal authority since the practice of subsidizing the chiefs tended to alienate them from the people, and the presence of agents lessened their prestige in the eyes of the young or the evil-disposed. The agents on their part had no authority for the punishment of criminal acts. If they had possessed magisterial powers with regard to both whites and Indians. such as were exercised by the gold commissioners in British Columbia, much injustice and lawlessness might have been avoided. Local authorities had no jurisdiction over Indians who were on reservations, although they sometimes punished Indians who were off of them; moreover, these authorities were in sympathy with the white population, and had little regard for the rights of an Indian. Military authorities also sometimes arrested Indians for civil crimes and gave them short trials and scanty justice. Clearly legal procedure in the Territories with regard to Indians was in a very haphazard condition.

Let us contrast with this state of affairs the simplicity and certainty of the administration of law in British Columbia. "When Indians commit crimes," ordered the Governor, "they are to be dealt with impartially and to receive a fair trial before the proper authorities, and not to be treated like the wild beasts of the forest." Of the actual local administration we may catch a vivid glimpse from the terse records of an old manuscript police book, which chronicles the petty trials held at Fort Hope, then a frontier town near the first great bend of

<sup>14</sup> Miscellaneous Letters (manuscript), Vol. I, p. 37.

the Fraser. An Indian for stealing money from another was sentenced to two days in jail. Two Indians for being drunk and disorderly were sent to jail for twentyfour hours. Samson B. McClure was charged by an Indian with assaulting him and was fined forty shillings. William Welch, charged by another Indian with the same offense, claimed that the Indian had beaten his dog and attacked him with a knife; Welch was let off, and the Indian was reprimanded. Another Indian who struck a squaw in the face with a gun had his hair cut off - to an Indian of that region a punishment truly grievous. J. Spencer Thompson, for selling about one pint of liquor to an Indian, had to pay a fine of one hundred dollars and lost his license to sell liquor. The record reveals that whites, Chinamen, and Indians were treated exactly alike. Of course for grave offenses criminals of all nationalities were bound over to the assizes. This evenhanded, carefully adjusted administration of equity and law contrasts plainly with the carelessness, ruthlessness, and lack of system in the Territories. One could scarcely imagine an event like the following occurring on an American frontier: "May 28, 1862, Chas. Millard, Captain of the Ft. Hope [steamboat] appeared to answer the complaint of Jim (an Indian) for having on the 16th instant broken and otherwise damaged his canoe at Union, valued at twenty-five dollars. (\$25.00)

"Ordered to pay Four Pounds (20.00) being the damage sustained by the Indian as sworn to by C. C. Craigie and Wm. Yates. Paid.

"P. O'Reilly, J. P." 15

I have been asked a number of times, by persons interested in this study, "Which proved to be the better system, that of the United States or of British Colum-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The Fort Hope Police Book (manuscript) is in the private library of His Honour, Judge Frederick W. Howay, of New Westminster, B. C. The author is greatly indebted to Judge Howay for his courtesy in making accessible his valuable collection of historical material.

bia." I am not able to give a mature answer to this question if for no other reason than that I have not investigated the course of Indian affairs in British Columbia subsequent to Confederation. Two observations, however, may be made upon the Colonial period. In the first place, one important cause of disturbance in the United States was lacking in British Columbia, in that the Indians were not required to stay upon their reserves. To quote the words of a writer upon the Canadian treatment of the plains Indians: "Reserves were not prisons". In the second place, excepting one small outbreak, there was nothing like an Indian "war" in Colonial British Columbia; and in repressing this one outbreak great care was taken to punish individuals and not to take vengeance upon tribes. South of the line during the same time there were the usual antagonism, the usual murders, the usual wars to stay settlement on the part of the Indian, and their usual desperate attempts to resist going upon reservations.

Another question may be raised by practical men of affairs as to the usefulness of thus contrasting bygone solutions of bygone problems. Replying, in conclusion, we may say that such study would seem to bring into relief some weaknesses of American life as it developed in the frontier period, which we are now trying to recognize and to eradicate. On the other hand, there were not wanting philanthropic tendencies of moral beauty and power in our treatment of the Indians. The American system presupposes possibility of progress and improvement, whereas the British Columbia system to a certain extent seems to be content to administer justice to subjects without particular emphasis upon the development of citizens.

But certainly we must judge the Indian policy of British Columbia as a part of a great achievement of the human race, when we view it as a manifestation of that superb *Pax Brittanica*, which has brought order and justice to many far-lying regions of the earth.

## THE BLACK CODE IN MISSOURI

#### By E. M. VIOLETTE

The Black Code in the American legal system is that body of law regulating the treatment of the colored race in our Southern States before the emancipating of slaves. It was intended primarily to secure good conduct on the part of negroes and mulattoes, both slave and free. It was based on two ideas: first, that the colored man, even though he were a slave, had certain rights and privileges which must be respected by the whites, including his master; second, that he was limited by certain disabilities and restrictions which he must observe.

A comparison of the Black Codes that prevailed in the Spanish, French, and English Colonies in North America, with the codes in force in the different States in the Union at the time that our Civil War opened, reveals the fact that the former contained very little that pertained to the free negro, and that they were on the whole rather mild in their treatment of the slave. This difference is largely due to the fact that in the earlier period the slave owners had no reason to be so solicitous about the free negro as they were about their slaves, and that the problem of controlling the slaves had not become a very serious one. It was only when the free negro became trouble-some and the difficulty of controlling the slave increased that the Black Codes became more severe and stringent in all their parts.

The fact that for a long time the free negro gave the slave owners less concern than the slaves, explains why there were no separate and distinct slave and free negro codes in the Colony of Louisiana or in Missouri prior to 1825. Up to that year the laws governing free negroes

were found as minor provisions in certain laws that had been enacted regarding slaves. By 1825, however, the problem of the free negro had become so troublesome as to bring forth a separate body of laws that pertained to him exclusively, and from that time until the Civil War the Black Code of Missouri appeared in the Revised Statutes of the State under two distinct chapters in the main—one on slaves and another on free negroes. Notwithstanding this fact that slave and free negro codes did not appear separately in Missouri until 1825, it will be better for our purposes to discuss the subject as though there had been in Missouri from the early Colonial period two well defined codes of law dealing with slaves and with free negroes.

The study of the Slave Code in Missouri begins with the Code Noir 1 which was issued by Louis XV of France in 1724 for Louisiana, which at that time included the regions on both sides of the Mississippi River. At that time there was no white settlement in what is now Missouri. In fact Ste. Genevieve, the first permanent white settlement in that region, was not founded until about 1735. The Code of 1724 was, therefore, the prevailing law at the time that Ste. Genevieve was founded, and it remained the law of that region until 1769, when Spain acquired possession of it as a part of Louisiana according to the Treaty of 1762.2

Down to 1769 Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis were the only permanent white settlements that had been made in what is now Missouri. The population of these places was less than a thousand,<sup>3</sup> and the slaves were very few in number. In all probability there was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Code Noir (Paris, 1767), pp. 281-315; or French's Historical Collections of Louisiana (New York, 1815), Vol. III, pp. 89 ff. An English translation is in Dillon's Indiana (1859), Vol. I, pp. 31-43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, translated by Moreau and Carleton (1820), Vol. I, pp. xviii, xix.

<sup>3</sup> Gayarre's History of Louisiana, Vol. II, p. 325.

little occasion for enforcing the provisions of the *Code Noir* in Upper Louisiana, at least not as much as in Lower Louisiana where the population was larger and the slaves more numerous. But in spite of these facts the plan of this paper requires us to make some brief survey of the provisions of this Code at the very outset. The justification for this will appear as the subject is developed.

The plan that will be followed in dealing with the slave code and its historical development involves an examination (1) of the rights and privileges of slaves, and (2) of the disabilities and restrictions that were placed upon them.

Under the head of rights and privileges of slaves as guaranteed by the *Code Noir* of 1724, there were the following provisions: <sup>4</sup>

Education in the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion and baptism in that faith (II), to the exclusion of all other faiths (III); exemption from labor on Sundays and holy days (V); sufficiency of food and clothing, and care during sickness and old age (XVIII-XXI); exemption from torture and mutilation, saving to the master the right of tying up his slaves and whipping them when they deserved it (XXXVIII); protection of slaves between the ages of forty and sixty, who were attached to the land, from being seized for the debts of their masters except for what may be due on their original purchase (XLIV); the possibility of manumission, provided permission was first obtained from the Superior Council (L); the recognition of slaves, who had been appointed by their masters as guardians of their children, as affranchised without the formality of manumission (LI).

Under the head of disabilities and restrictions there were the following provisions: prohibition of marriage and concubinage of whites and blacks (VI); the prohibi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Roman numerals in the paragraphs immediately following refer to the sections of the Code Noir. See foot-note 1.

tion of wearing any offensive arms or heavy clubs by slaves under the pain of the lash and the forfeiture of such arms (XII); the prohibition of slaves of different masters gathering together by day or night under the pain of whipping or branding, and in case of repeated offenses, under the pain of death at the discretion of the judges (XIII); the prohibition of slaves offering for sale any sort of commodity without express permission from their masters (XV); the appointment of certain supervisors of the market to examine wares and merchandise brought there by slaves, together with the letters and marks of their masters (XVI), and the seizure of all commodities found in the possession of slaves who were without passes from their masters (XVII); the incapability of slaves holding any property, everything that they acquired having been considered as belonging to their masters (XXII-XXIII); the ineligibility of slaves to be parties to or subjects of judgments in civil cases or as civil parties in criminal matters, the masters suing for or defending them in civil cases or prosecuting for them in criminal cases for redress of grievances and injuries (XXV): the punishment of slaves by death for striking their master, mistress, or their children upon the face, or so as to bruise or draw blood (XXVII); the punishment of slaves even to death for abuse or violence offered by them to free persons (XXVIII); the punishment of slaves or free negroes unto death for theft of horses, mares, mules, oxen or cows, and for stealing sheep, goats, poultry, grain, cattle feed, peas, beans or other greens and provisions by whipping with rods and branding with a fleur de lis (XXX); the punishment of runaways for the first offense by cutting off their ears and branding a fleur de lis upon one shoulder, for the second offense by hamstringing and branding upon the other shoulder, and for the third offense death (XXXII).

As far as is known no change was made by the French

government in this Code down to 1769 when it was superseded by the laws of Spain. Other edicts and laws concerning the blacks were issued by the King of France between 1724 and 1769, but they dealt with the slave trade and the status of slaves taken from the Colonies to France.<sup>5</sup> There was nothing in these edicts that would be of any interest to us in this study.

When Spain assumed control of the trans-Mississippi portion of the Colony of Louisiana, Spanish law superseded French law. As far as I know, the Spanish laws regarding slavery at that time were contained in a code called Las Siete Partidas, or The Seven Parts. This code had been compiled in imitation of the Roman Pandects and may be considered as the Digest of the Laws of Spain at the time it was put into operation, that is in the early sixteenth century. It was originally a code of laws primarily for Spain and not for her colonies. But as she came to acquire colonies, this body of law was applied there as well as at home. It is necessary to state this fact in order that we may understand the striking difference which we shall see existing between their provisions and those of the Code Noir of 1724 as regards slavery. Although the Partidas came into effect in Louisiana later than the Code Noir, the latter is more clearly modern than This is due to the fact that the Partidas were compiled long before the Code Noir, and that they were intended to apply to conditions that were essentially different from those of the Code Noir in 1724. It is also neces-

<sup>5</sup> Code Noir, pp. 316-446.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In addition to the *Partidas* there was another body of law that evidently prevailed in the Spanish Colonies, that was known as *La Recopilacion de las Indias*, compiled by Philip IV and published in 1661. The author has not been able to consult a copy and so can not tell whether it contained any provisions concerning slaves or not.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The *Partidas* were not only law in the Colony of Louisiana from 1769 to 1803 but much of them remained the law of the State of Louisiana down to at least 1820. See the *Partidas*, Vol. I, pp. viii, ix.

sary to stress the further fact that the *Partidas* were composed largely of statements of general principles of law rather than specific provisions.<sup>8</sup>

About the only right or privilege which the Partidas guaranteed the slave was that pertaining to enfranchisement. The provisions concerning this right were rather elaborate. Among other things it was provided that the judge ought to compel the master of the one suing for his freedom to appear in court and give security that he would not molest the petitioner during his suit. But the burden of proof that he was free and not a slave rested upon the petitioner.10 If a free man happened to be held as a slave at the time of his death, his heirs might institute suit within five years of the death of the deceased to establish the right of the deceased to his freedom. 11 Ordinarily a slave could not appear in court, but under certain circumstances, such as suits for enfranchisement, he could For example, if a testator had by will ordered that at his death a slave of his should be freed, the slave might sue the person who was concealing the will to defraud him of his freedom. Again, if the slave had given money to another with which to buy his freedom, he might sue the one who had received the money for the specific performance of the obligation. Again, if a slave had stipulated with another person to buy him of his master in order that the purchaser might afterwards enfranchise the slave on being reimbursed for the purchase money, the slave might sue the purchaser if he refused to return the money or refused to enfranchise the slave after receiving the money.12

If a slave had two masters and one agreed to free him and the other would not consent, the slave might secure his

<sup>8</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Vol. I, pp. xv, xvi.

<sup>9</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part III, Law 4, Title V.

<sup>10</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part III, Law 5, Title XIV.

<sup>11</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part III, Law 25, Title XXIX.

<sup>12</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part III, Law 8, Title II.

freedom by a suit.<sup>13</sup> If a slave performed some good act, he might be enfranchised by the government even though the master objected.<sup>14</sup> If a slave acting in good faith enjoyed freedom for ten years while his master was in the country, or twenty years while he was out of it, and the master in that time had brought no suit touching his slavery, he could not thereafter be claimed as a slave by anyone. If the slave acted in bad faith he could not avail himself of such a prescription. But if he enjoyed freedom for thirty years, he could not be reclaimed as a slave by any one even though he had been a runaway.<sup>15</sup>

On turning to the disabilities of and restrictions upon slaves we find that the *Partidas* contained several provisions pertaining thereto. The master had full power over his slave to do with him as he wished. Nevertheless he could not kill nor wound him, unless he did it under the orders of the judge of his place. Nor was he allowed to strike his slave in an unnatural and cruel manner or cause him to perish by hunger, unless he found him with his wife or daughter, or the slave had committed some similar offense, and for this he might kill him.<sup>16</sup>

Every slave was bound to preserve his master from harm or dishonor by all means in his power or knowledge, and he was bound to obey him and to promote his honor and fortunes in every possible way. He was also bound to treat his master's wife and children in the same way. If they had need of him in case any one should attempt to kill or dishonor them, he ought to die for them that he might save them from death and dishonor. And every slave was bound to perform this duty well and faithfully, and he could in no way excuse himself from it when it was in his power to do it unless he should be prevented by

<sup>13</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part IV, Law 3, Title XXII.

<sup>14</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part IV, Law 3, Title XXII.

<sup>15</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part IV, Law 7, Title XXII.

<sup>16</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part IV, Law 6, Title XXI. Heavy penalties were levied for cruel treatment of slaves by masters.

some infirmity or imprisonment or confinement, or because he was too far away so that he could not in any manner render any assistance. And if any slave should kill or wound any one in thus preserving his master who was threatened with death, he was not liable to any penalty.<sup>17</sup>

A slave enjoyed no property rights. Whatever he might have gained in whatsoever manner was by law his master's.<sup>18</sup> If a slave committed an offense which was punished with death or loss of limb, he was liable to answer the charge without the intervention of his master.<sup>19</sup>

During the period of Spanish domination in Louisiana the Governors of the Colony issued from time to time executive decrees or proclamations regarding slaves. These decrees ranged all the way from one or two simple provisions to something that assumed almost the character of a code in itself.

The first of these gubernatorial decrees was, as far as is known, made by Governor O'Reilly. When he became Governor in 1769 for the Spanish Government, he found that a good many Indians were being held as slaves by the French Colonists. Deeming that this was against the laws of his Majesty, he issued a proclamation on December 7, 1769, to the effect that no one, not even travelers who chanced to be in the province, should acquire, buy, or appropriate any savage slaves, and that all who owned such were not allowed to get rid of them except by giving them their full liberty. Pending the orders of His Majesty on the matter, he further decreed that the owners of such slaves should go to the record office and there regis-

<sup>17</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part IV, Law 5, Title XXI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part III, Law 3, Title XXIX; Part IV, Law 7, Title XXI.

<sup>19</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part III, Law 9, Title II.

ter the names and tribes of the Indians they held as slaves and the price at which they valued them.<sup>20</sup>

It will be seen that, while this ordinance did not declare the immediate emancipation of Indian slaves, it opened up the way to that. In May, 1770, ordinances were published declaring that from thenceforth all Indians of both sexes who were held as slaves should be accounted free.<sup>21</sup> That these ordinances were not observed is evidenced by the fact that in June, 1787, Governor Cruzat republished O'Reilly's ordinance of 1769, and ordered that it should be observed.<sup>22</sup> Even as late as 1794 Indians seem yet to have been held as slaves.<sup>23</sup>

The next changes that were made were by Cruzat. Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana. On August 12. 1781, he issued an ordinance regulating the conduct of the slaves at the post of St. Louis.24 He complained that the unruly conduct of the slaves was due to the criminal indulgence of some of the masters who were "too little solicitous for their authority and for the public welfare". The ordinance forbids the slaves holding any assembly at night in their cabins or elsewhere, and threatened a punishment that would accord with the results of any assembly that was held. Slaves were also forbidden to leave their cabins at night or otherwise after the beat of the tatoo, unless upon some errand of their masters, and then only with their consent. The penalty for violating this provision was for the first offense fifty blows with the lash in some public place, if they were found in the streets; and for the second offense, double that number.

The slaves were also forbidden under the same penalty to receive in their cabins other slaves except those belonging to their own master, and they were commanded

<sup>20</sup> Houck's Spanish Régime in Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 249, 250.

<sup>21</sup> Houck's Spanish Régime in Missouri, Vol. I, p. 249.

<sup>22</sup> Houck's Spanish Régime in Missouri, Vol. I, pp. 249, 250.

<sup>23</sup> Houck's History of Missouri, Vol. II, p. 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Houck's Spanish Régime in Missouri, Vol. I, p. 244.

to detain slaves who were strangers and to notify their masters who were in turn obliged to confine them. Masters who failed to confine strange slaves found on their premises were to be imprisoned one week and fined fifty livres. Slaves were not allowed to dance either by day or by night in the village without express permission of their masters and the consent of the government. Slaves violating this provision were to be punished with fifty lashes in public.

Three days later, August 15, 1781, Cruzat issued another ordinance regulating the dress of the Indians and negroes.25 "As it has come to the knowledge of the government", so runs this ordinance, "that the savages both free and slave, and the negroes who belong to this post. dress themselves in barbarous fashion, adorning themselves with vermillion and many feathers which render them unrecognizable in the woods; in order to avoid misfortune which may follow from the surprise which these men thus metamorphosed, could occasion to those who might see them in an unexpected moment, who taking them for enemies, shoot at them, we strictly forbid all savages, whether slave or free, and all negroes of this post to clothe themselves in any other manner than according to our usage and custom, either in the village or when they go into the woods and fields - under penalty of being punished with severity and according to the result of the infraction of our order". The ordinance closed with an injunction to the masters to watch over their slaves not only as to the matter of dress but also as to nightly assemblies, which the negroes had been accustomed to hold contrary to ordinances of long standing.

The last of these gubernatorial ordinances affecting the Slave Code in the Louisiana Colony was made by Governor Carondelet on June 1, 1785.<sup>26</sup> This ordinance dif-

<sup>25</sup> Houck's Spanish Régime in Missouri, Vol. I, p. 245.

<sup>26</sup> American State Papers, Miscellaneous, Vol. I, pp. 380, 381.

fered from those issued by O'Reilly and Cruzat in that it constituted a practical revision of the Black Code of the Colony. The occasion for this revision seems to have been the uprising of the negroes in San Domingo. It was feared that "the excessive indulgence with which the slaves of some plantations" were treated would cause them to become insubordinate and insolent, and that the "hardships and inhumanity of other masters of little reflection" would drive their slaves to despair; therefore the commandants and syndics were required by this ordinance "to direct their whole attention to the internal police of the plantation", and to see to the enforcement of its various provisions.

In analyzing this Code of Carondelet we shall follow the same plan of grouping the provisions under two heads as was followed in the case of the Code of 1724.

Under the head of rights and privileges of slaves, the Carondelet Code provided:

1. That every slave should receive the barrel of corn that the usage of the Colony allowed.

2. That the syndics should undertake to induce the masters to allow their slaves a portion of waste lands for their own use and profit.

3. That slaves should be allowed half an hour for breakfast and two hours for dinner; that their labor should begin at break of day and cease at night-fall; that Sundays should be theirs except during the harvest.

4. That slaves who did not have a portion of waste land should receive from their masters a shirt and a pair of linen trousers for summer wear, and a great coat and trousers of wool for winter use.

Under the head of disabilities and restrictions this Code contained the following:

1. That no person should give at one time more than thirty lashes to his slave, but as a means of special grace

to masters they might repeat the punishment if necessary after an interval of one day.

- 2. That any negro armed or unarmed who resisted arrest, or any negro who attempted to defend himself against his master, or any negro who secretly entered a plantation with the intent to steal, might be shot.
- 3. That the gathering of negroes from different plantations for the purpose of dancing should be prohibited, and that the amusements of slaves on the plantations of their masters which were allowed on Sundays should terminate before night.
- 4. That no slave should pass the bounds of his master's land without permission under the penalty of twenty lashes.
- 5. That no slave should be chastised by any person other than his master unless with the consent of the master and the syndic of the district.
- 6. That slaves riding horses of their masters, or of any one else without permission, should be punished with thirty lashes during two days. Furthermore slaves were not allowed to have horses of their own.
- 7. That slaves arrested without a permit or passport from their masters should be punished by the syndic and then returned to their masters.
- 8. That slaves were prohibited from having fire arms or ammunition under the penalty of thirty lashes during three days, and confiscation of their arms and ammunition.
- 9. That slaves should not sell anything, not even the products they raised on the waste lands that had been allowed them, without the permission of their masters under the penalty of twenty-five lashes and a fine of double the value of the thing sold. The white person who bought anything from a slave was to forfeit it and to be brought before the syndic.
  - 10. That the syndic should from time to time visit

the negro camps or quarters in his district both by day and by night, and should punish with thirty lashes the slaves belonging to other plantations that were found therein without permission of their masters. White persons, free negroes, and mulattoes found in these camps should be imprisoned for fifteen days.

11. That in those plantations where the masters were for the most part absent, the syndic should appoint some one of the inhabitants to have charge of the slaves and to make visits upon them by day and night.

12. That runaway slaves should be apprehended by the syndic who had authority to summon as many as fifteen persons to assist in the pursuit.

13. That no slave should complain to the government without having first complained to the commandant under the penalty of thirty lashes. But these officers were obliged to receive complaints of slaves under strict justice.

The purchase of Louisiana put before Congress the problem of her government. The first provision that was made for her in that respect was by way of an act passed in 1804 which divided the Territory into two districts, the thirty-third parallel of north latitude being named as the dividing line. By this same act the northern or upper district was attached to the Territory of Indiana for judicial and administrative purposes.<sup>27</sup> William Henry Harrison, who was at that time Governor of Indiana, and the Council of Indiana drew up a Black Code for Upper Louisiana <sup>28</sup> which was made up of material, it has been said, taken very largely from the Virginia and Kentucky codes.<sup>29</sup>

An examination of this Code of 1804 shows that as

<sup>27</sup> United States Statutes at Large, Vol. II, p. 283, Sec. I, Ch. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Laws of the District of Louisiana, of the Territory of Louisiana, and of the State of Missouri up to 1824, pp. 27-33.

<sup>29</sup> Harris's Negro Servitude in Illinois, p. 7.

far as the rights and privileges of slaves are concerned there was only one that may in any way be counted as such, and that was the authority given the slave owners to emancipate their slaves under certain conditions (XXIII).<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand the provisions that placed restrictions upon the conduct of the slave were somewhat numerous. They may be summarized as follows:

- 1. Negroes and mulattoes were not allowed to act as witnesses except in pleas of the United States against negroes and mulattoes, or in civil pleas where negroes were parties (I).
- 2. Slaves were not allowed to leave home without passes under the penalty of stripes at the order of the justice of the peace (II). They were not to visit other plantations without passes under the penalty of ten lashes by the owner or overseer (III).
- 3. Slaves were not allowed to carry arms. If they did they were to be given not to exceed thirty-nine lashes at the order of the justice of the peace, and to have their arms seized (IV). They might, however, keep one gun but could not carry it about (V).
- 4. Riots, routs, unlawful assemblies, and seditious speeches by slaves were to be punished by stripes at the discretion of the justice of the peace (VII).
- 5. Slaves were not allowed to trade, and persons dealing with slaves without their owner's consent were subject to a payment to the owners of four times the value of the thing bought or sold, and to a fine or to a sentence of not more than thirty-nine lashes (XI).<sup>31</sup>
- 6. Slaves lifting their hands in opposition to white persons were to be punished at the hands of the justice of

<sup>30</sup> The Roman numerals refer to the sections of the law cited in note 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Repealed in 1822. Remarkable for the penalty of whipping inflicted upon whites for trading with slaves.

the peace with not to exceed thirty-nine lashes, except when the slaves struck in self defense (XII).

- 7. Slaves conspiring to rebel, make insurrection, or commit murder were to be put to death without the benefit of clergy (XIV).
- 8. Slaves administering medicine with evil intent or evil results were to be put to death without the benefit of clergy (XV and XVI). They were allowed to administer medicine, however, with the consent of their master (XVII).

We have now reached the point where we are able to glance back and compare the first code enacted by American authorities, for what is now Missouri, with the former French and Spanish codes, and see whether there are any points of resemblance or difference. An examination reveals the fact that in each of the codes that we have examined there were provisions against slaves leaving the plantation of their masters without passes, against them carrying arms, making riots, gathering in unlawful assemblies, making assault upon their masters, plotting conspiracy, offering of resistance to arrest, and engaging in trade. It may also be stated that provisions against such things as these remain in some form or other in the Slave Code down to the last days of slavery. To the slave owners these were constant dangers, and the provisions against such dangers and the provision for the emancipation of slaves which all Slave Codes contained, may be called very appropriately the constants of the Slave Code.

The provisions that were in the Code of 1804, but were lacking in the previous codes and laws, were those pertaining to slaves acting as witnesses and administering medicine. The provisions that were in the former codes and laws but were lacking in the Code of 1804, were those relating to provisions and clothing, use of waste land, time for meals and Sundays, horse back-riding and owning of horses, patrol, religion and burial, intermar-

riage of blacks and whites, maintenance of old slaves by masters, ineligibility of slaves to office and suits, theft, torture, mutilation, and separation of families. As we shall see a little later on, many of the things lacking in the Code of 1804, that had been contained in the earlier codes and laws, were incorporated in the Slave Code of Missouri shortly after her admission into the Union.

From 1804 to 1821 Congress passed several laws which affected the territorial status of what had been designated as the District of Louisiana in 1804. In 1805 the District of Louisiana was separated from Indiana Territory and given a distinct Territorial organization of the first or lowest class under the name of Territory of Louisiana.<sup>32</sup> In 1812 the name was changed to Missouri Territory and a Territorial legislature was provided for, thus raising the Territory to one of the second class.<sup>33</sup> In 1816 it was raised to the rank of the third class.<sup>34</sup>

Up to this point no changes had been made in the boundary limits as they had been fixed in 1804. But by 1820 the term Missouri Territory had come to be applied to that region that is now Missouri. To the south was the Territory of Arkansas which had been created in 1819, and to the north was the unorganized remainder of the original purchase.

Between 1804 and 1821 no addition was made to the Territorial Slave Code of Missouri save a single law that was passed to facilitate the enforcement of the law against slaves traveling without passes.<sup>35</sup> In view of the comparative mildness of the slave laws that had been issued in Missouri prior to 1821, one might be justified in saying that the problem of controlling the slaves had not yet become a very serious one.

<sup>32</sup> Carr's Missouri, p. 84.

<sup>33</sup> Carr's Missouri, p. 115.

<sup>34</sup> Carr's Missouri, p. 137.

<sup>35</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1824-1836, p. 277.

In 1821 Missouri acquired Statehood after a long and acrimonious debate both in and out of Congress, and a new era in slave legislation in the State was straightway inaugurated. The first thing that we shall consider in this new era is the first Constitution of Missouri.

Article III of that instrument had to do with the General Assembly or legislature, and Sections 26, 27, and 28 set forth the powers of that body as regards negroes, both slave and free. As regards slaves, it was provided:

- 1. That the General Assembly had no power to pass laws to emancipate slaves without the consent of their owners or without paying for them; nor to prevent bona fide immigrants from bringing slaves into the State from any part of the United States (26).
- 2. That the General Assembly had the power to prohibit the introduction of slaves into the State who had committed any high crime in any other State or Territory; to prohibit the introduction of slaves for the purpose of speculation or as an article of trade; to prohibit the introduction of slaves who had been imported into the United States in contravention to the laws of the United States; to permit owners of slaves to emancipate their slaves provided the rights of their creditors had been secured and that the emancipating person would guarantee that the emancipated slave would not become a public charge (26).
- 3. That the General Assembly should pass laws that would compel slave owners to treat their slaves with humanity and to abstain from all injuries to them extending to life and limb (27).
- 4. That in prosecution for crimes, slaves should not be deprived of an impartial trial by jury, and a slave convicted of a capital offense should suffer the same degree of punishment, and no other, that would be inflicted upon a free white person for a like offense; and courts of justice

before whom slaves should be tried should assign them counsel for defense (27).

5. That any person who should maliciously deprive of life or dismember a slave, should suffer such punishment as would be inflicted for the like offense if it were committed on a free white person (28).

In the Constitutional Convention which drafted this Constitution it had been proposed that a clause should be inserted to the effect that slave owners violating the humane laws passed by the legislature regarding slaves should forfeit their slaves, but this failed to carry.<sup>36</sup>

By 1825 when the first revision of the laws of Missouri had been made, considerable change had been brought about in the Slave Code of the State by way of adding to and repealing sections of the Code of 1804.

Of the additions that were made only one would come under the head of rights and privileges of slaves, and that was secured through a law passed in 1824, providing that persons alleging that they were held in slavery illegally might be permitted to sue for their freedom, and were to be safeguarded against improper restraint during their suits.<sup>27</sup>

There were three additions that would come under the head of disabilities and restrictions. The first was a more efficient check upon trade carried on by slaves by way of increasing the fines that were levied upon persons who would engage in trade with them.<sup>38</sup> The second was the organization of the patrol.<sup>39</sup> The law that authorized the patrol provided that a county court, if it thought best, might appoint for each township a company of patrollers,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> The author is indebted to Mr. F. C. Shoemaker of the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, Missouri, for this fact. It appears in his master's thesis on *The First Constitution of Missouri*, p. 49.

<sup>37</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1825, pp. 404-406.

<sup>38</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1823, pp. 26, 27.

<sup>39</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1823, pp. 64, 65.

or "patter rollers" as they were called, of for one year, each company consisting of a captain and not more than four other persons. It was their duty to patrol at least twelve hours each month, and as many more as the county court might direct, and to visit negro quarters and other places suspected of unlawful assemblies. If slaves were found at unlawful assemblies, the patrol might give them not more than ten lashes, unless the owner permitted it, but the justice of the peace might give them as many as thirty-nine. The third addition to the Slave Code under this head was the provision that slaves might not claim the benefits of the Habeas Corpus Act in whatever attempts they might make through the courts to secure their freedom.

The Revised Statutes of Missouri of 1825 show that several sections of the Code of 1804 had been repealed.<sup>43</sup> Among them were those that concerned negroes and mulattoes acting as witnesses; slaves lifting hands in opposition to white persons; slaves conspiring to rebel, make insurrection, or commit murder; and slaves administering medicine. All of them, however, except the last one were later reënacted and made parts of the Slave Code again.

By 1835 the Slave Code of Missouri was complete. A few laws of a minor character were passed after 1835 but they added nothing that need be noted here. As a matter of fact there were so few laws of importance passed between 1825 and 1835, that we might be justified in saying that the Code was practically complete by 1825. An examination of the laws that were passed in the decade from 1825 to 1835 shows that they all come under the head of disabilities and restrictions, and that all but one were either reënactments of what had been formerly law but

<sup>40</sup> Hart's Slavery and Abolition, p. 111.

<sup>41</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1824, Vol. I, p. 424.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> The limit to four additional members in each patrol was removed in 1825. — Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1825, p. 614.

<sup>43</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1825, pp. 741-747.

had for some reason been repealed, or they were attempts to secure the enforcement of what was then existing law by increasing the penalties for infractions. In other words only one law during this period of ten years introduced anything new in the Slave Code, and this was the law that provided that negroes and mulattoes who should commit or attempt to commit assault upon white women should be mutilated.<sup>44</sup> It was evidently intended to apply to both free negroes and slaves. The other laws in this period of ten years were against slaves stealing,<sup>45</sup> holding unlawful assemblies,<sup>46</sup> disturbing religious congregations,<sup>47</sup> harboring runaway slaves,<sup>48</sup> selling liquor to slaves,<sup>49</sup> and planning or attempting insurrection.<sup>50</sup> The penalties were more severe than those that had been assessed in former laws dealing with these matters.

In addition to all the laws that have been enumerated as constituting the Slave Code, there should be included another body of supplementary laws that regulated the conduct of the whites towards slaves. They were directed against masters allowing slaves of others to remain on their plantations above four hours without the permission of their masters; <sup>51</sup> against white persons attending unlawful assemblies of slaves or harboring them without the consent of their owners; <sup>52</sup> against masters allowing their slaves to go at large and trade without the owner's license; <sup>58</sup> against masters allowing unlawful assemblies; <sup>54</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1835, pp. 170, 171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1831, p. 95; Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1835, p. 215.

<sup>46</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1833, pp. 64, 65.

<sup>47</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1843, pp. 64, 65.

<sup>48</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1835, pp. 582-587.

<sup>49</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1835, pp. 582-587.

<sup>50</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1835, p. 166.

<sup>51</sup> Territorial Laws of Missouri, 1804, Ch. III.

<sup>52</sup> Territorial Laws of Missouri, 1804, Ch. III.

<sup>53</sup> Territorial Laws of Missouri, 1804, Ch. III.

<sup>54</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1833, pp. 64, 65.

against masters allowing their slaves to sell liquor to slaves or other persons without permission of the owners of the purchasing slaves; <sup>55</sup> against persons selling poisonous drugs to slaves; <sup>56</sup> against keepers of inns or grocery and dram shops selling liquor to slaves; <sup>57</sup> against cruel or inhuman treatment of any slave; <sup>58</sup> against commanders of boats carrying slaves out of the State, or even from one place to another in the State, without the consent of the owner; <sup>59</sup> against persons decoying slaves out of the State or assisting others to decoy them. <sup>60</sup>

The penalties assessed for violating these laws were generally fines. Even cruel and inhuman treatment of slaves was punished with a fine or jail sentence, 61 but by 1855 the law declared that any person who maliciously deprived a slave of his life or dismembered him should suffer the same penalty as though the injury had been received by a white person. 62 The penalty for decoying a slave out of the State was a term of imprisonment in the State penitentiary. 63

On turning to the laws regulating free negroes and mulattoes in Missouri, we need to recall the fact that has already been brought out in this paper, namely, that there were very few laws against them up to 1825. As late as 1795 there were only 92 free negroes in Upper Louisiana, and that means what is now Missouri, out of a total population of 3,582.64 In 1799 there were only 197 out of a

<sup>55</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1835, pp. 582-587.

<sup>56</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1843, p. 102.

<sup>57</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1845, pp. 542, 587.

<sup>58</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1835, p. 170.

<sup>59</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1841, pp. 146, 147.

<sup>60</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1843, p. 133.

<sup>61</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1835, pp. 344, 345.

<sup>62</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1855, pp. 344, 345.

<sup>63</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1843, p. 133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Viles's Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri Before 1804 in Missouri Historical Review, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 212.

total population of 6,028,65 and in 1820 there were only 347 out of 66,557. But, as we shall see, the laws against free negroes became more elaborate and severe after 1825. This change, however, can not be explained on the ground that free negroes had become very numerous for they had not. Even as late as 1860 there were only 3,572 out of a population of 1,182,012. Some other explanation is necessary.

The Code of 1724, with which we must begin our study of this phase of the subject, contained about half a dozen provisions touching the free negroes and mulattoes, 66 such as: prohibition of the marriage of whites and blacks (VI); rigorous punishment for certain thefts, such as stealing horses, mules, mares, oxen or cows (XXIX); punishment for harboring fugitive slaves (XXXIV); incapability of free negroes to receive any gifts from white persons (LII); respect that freed negroes should show towards their former masters or their widows and children (LIII); enjoyment of rights by freed negroes the same as if they had been born free (LV).

As has already been said the Code of 1724 was superseded by the law of Spain in 1769. The *Partidas* therefore came into force at that time in what is now Missouri. They dealt, however, very slightly with free negroes or enfranchised slaves, and what few provisions they contained upon that subject had to do with the respect that these negroes owed to their former masters, the causes for which they might be reduced to slavery again, and the rights of their former masters over their estates.

Very elaborate directions were given as regards the respect and honor that enfranchised slaves should show to their former masters and families. By way of etiquette, the enfranchised slave must salute his former mas-

<sup>65</sup> Viles's Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri Before 1804, in Missouri Historical Review, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 212.

<sup>66</sup> Code Noir, in works already cited.

ter humbly and show other deferences on meeting him. The obligation rested upon the enfranchised slave to give support to his former master in distress and want. He should never sue his former master nor accuse nor defraud him.<sup>67</sup> The chief cause for which an enfranchised slave could be reënslaved was failure to pay the respect and honor due to the former master.<sup>68</sup> The rights of the former master over the state of the enfranchised slave were largely those that obtained after the death of the latter.<sup>69</sup>

It was brought out in connection with the Slave Code that during the period of Spanish domination the slave laws, as contained in the Partidas, were modified, as far as Louisiana was concerned, by way of ordinances or decrees issued by the Spanish Governors of that Territory. This was equally true of the Free Negro Code. As far as is known the first of these gubernatorial decrees affecting the free negro was the one issued by Governor Carondelet in 1795.70 This decree provided: (1) that no free negro or mulatto should be allowed to enter slave camps without the permission of the master, nor to sell any thing to slaves on the borders of the river. If any free negroes or mulattoes were found in these camps they were to be punished by fifteen days' imprisonment; (2) that free people of color were not to be molested in the possession of their property nor to be injured or mistreated. Persons violating this provision were liable to the penalty provided by law for the safety and security of the property of white persons; (3) that free negroes should labor in the field or at some trade: (4) that free negroes should pay respect to their former masters and other white persons.

The Code drawn up by Governor Harrison and his

<sup>67</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part IV, Law 8, Title XXII.

<sup>68</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part IV, Law 9, Title XXII.

<sup>69</sup> Laws of Las Siete Partidas, Part IV, Laws 10 and 11, Title XXII.

<sup>70</sup> American State Papers, Miscellaneous, Vol. I, pp. 380, 381.

Council in 1804 contained only two clauses regarding free negroes: (1) they were allowed to keep one gun, and more if licensed; (2) those found at unlawful assemblies or harboring slaves without the consent of their owners, were to be fined for each offense and to be given not more than twenty lashes by the justice of the peace.

It was in 1820 that the sentiment of the people of Missouri towards the free negro began to manifest itself as decidedly hostile. That hostility is best seen in Article III of the first Constitution of Missouri which was adopted in 1820. This section provided that it should be the duty of the legislature to pass such laws as would prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in the State under any pretext whatsoever.

Now this hostility to the free negroes was not due to their large numbers, for they were yet very few. It was rather due to a fear that they would rapidly increase by immigration, and the Missourian was determined that should not happen. The mere presence of free negroes in the community where slaves were, especially if they came from other States was liable to make the latter discontented with their lot. They might be used by designing persons to stir up rebellion or insubordination on the part of slaves. They were always held in some degree of suspicion and distrust, even where they were not numerous. The prospect of an increase in their numbers explains why the first Constitution of Missouri contained such a drastic provision as the one quoted above.

This clause in the Constitution precipitated the second debate on the admission of Missouri into the Union. The first debate had arisen over the question as to whether Missouri should come in as a slave or a free State. It had been settled by allowing her to come in as a slave State with the famous 36° 30′ proviso. When she presented herself for admission those who had opposed her entrance as a slave State found another opportunity to continue their

opposition on the ground of this clause regarding the exclusion of free negroes. After a prolonged debate in Congress it was finally arranged through the efforts of Clay that if the Missouri legislature would by a solemn public act declare that this clause in the Constitution, to which exception had been taken, should never be construed to authorize the passage of any law by which any citizen of either of the States of the Union should be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges or immunities to which he was entitled under the Constitution of the United States, the President might declare by proclamation the admission of the State upon receiving a copy of the act. The Missouri legislature proceeded at once to comply by passing the solemn public act that had been required as a condition for her admission. But the preamble of this act contained clauses which clearly showed that the legislature understood that it was playing a farce, and that whatever it might do by way of a legislative act, it could not thus alter the constitutional provision that had given offense, nor bind any future legislature. <sup>71</sup> So Missouri entered the Union with the objectionable clause as a part of the law of the State, and subsequent legislation regarding the free negro showed how she interpreted her rights under it.

The Free Negro Code was not elaborated, however, until 1835. The code that appears in the Revised Statutes of the State for 1825 contained only six articles, but as all of them but the second were incorporated in the fuller code found in the Revised Statutes of 1825, no separate notice of the provisions of the Code of 1835 will be given. The chief feature of this Code of 1835 was the license that was required of the free negro or mulatto. No free negro or mulatto other than citizens of some of the United States were permitted to reside within Missouri unless he

<sup>71</sup> Carr's Missouri, pp. 155-158.

<sup>72</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1835, pp. 413-417.

obtained a license from some county court (VII and VIII). Several conditions were laid down as requisites necessary to obtain this license (IX). If a free negro moved from one county to another it was necessary for him to register his license with the clerk of the county court to which he had moved (XIV). His license was revoked if he committed a felony or a crime, or kept a gaming house (XVII).

A negro or mulatto suspected of acting as a free person, without license, was to be taken before the justice of the peace, who would thereupon commit him to jail as a runaway slave, unless the justice was satisfied that he was free. If the justice decided that the negro was free and was without license, the negro was fined from \$10 to \$100 and kept in jail until the fine was paid, and was then ordered out of the State (XVIII-XXII). Failure on the part of the free negro to comply therewith brought on a punishment of whipping or of being hired out until the fine and costs and expenses of imprisonment had been paid (XXII).

Persons employing or harboring free negroes or mulattoes who were not entitled to remain in the State forfeited \$5 a day for each day they employed or harbored a negro or mulatto (XXV). Free negroes or mulattoes not entitled to reside in the State were given a certain amount of time in which to leave (XXIV). Fire arms were proscribed, except with license from the justice of the peace; if found in possession of free negroes or mulattoes without license, they were to be taken from them and appropriated by those taking them (II and III).

Free negroes and mulattoes between the ages of seven and twenty were hired out by the county courts as apprentices until they were twenty-one, and such apprentices and their masters had the same obligations and rights as by law other apprentices and masters had. A significant provision, however, was to the effect that no negro or mulatto apprentice should be placed in company

with a free white apprentice, except by consent of the parents of the latter (IV-VI).

In 1843 a drastic law was passed which was intended to restrict the immigration of free negroes into the State. 78 Excepting free negroes who were natives of the State, or who had been in it since 1840, and excepting those who were citizens of another State, all other free negroes were prohibited from coming into the State (I, VII and XIV). To insure the enforcement of this law there were strict regulations governing masters of vessels trading with the State. They were to report a list of free negroes on board and to give bond that they would carry them on out of the State (IX and III). Moreover the free negroes were to be confined while the vessels were in port (II). Persons bringing free negroes into St. Louis were to be fined \$200 for the first offense, put in jail for six months for the second offense, and fined \$1,000 for the third offense (VI). Persons employing or harboring free negroes were fined \$200 (VII). So great was the opposition to the increase of the number of free negroes in the State, that a provision was inserted in this law to the effect that slaves entitled to freedom at some future period were prohibited from being brought into the State (X).

This law restricting the immigration of the free negro which has just been analyzed seems to be the only change of any importance made in the Free Negro Code between 1835 and 1845. There were some changes made during this decade, but they were chiefly matters of detail in already existing laws. For example persons who brought in slaves that were entitled to their freedom at some future time were to be judged guilty of a misdemeanor (XX). Colored apprentices could not be placed in company with white apprentices under any circum-

<sup>73</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1843, pp. 66-68.

<sup>74</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1845, pp. 753 ff.

stances (IV). Heretofore they might have been placed together, provided the parents of the white apprentices did not object. Free negroes or mulattoes were required to give bond for \$10,000 for good behavior during the period of their license (X).

The law which gave greatest offense to those who opposed slavery was the one passed in 1847,75 which forbade any one to teach free negroes or mulattoes how to read and write, and which further prohibited the holding of religious meetings for negroes and mulattoes exclusively, unless some officer was present to prevent seditious speeches or disorderly conduct (I and II). Such schools and religious meetings were declared to be unlawful assemblies (III).

In the same act free negroes and mulattoes were forbidden to come into the State from any other State and Territory under any conditions. It should be stated here that this last provision was in accord with Article III, Section 26, of the Constitution of Missouri, and that it was the first time the legislature had taken advantage of its opportunity to act under that authority. A law had been passed in 1843 restricting the immigration of free negroes into the State, but that did not shut out all free negroes as this law of four years later did.

An attempt was made in 1855 to revise the Free Negro Code, but the matter failed in one of the houses of the legislature. Whether the planned revision was in the direction of greater or less severity does not appear from the records that have been found.

In 1859 the legislature attempted to put the cap sheaf upon the free negro legislation by passing a bill providing among other things that the only trial which a free negro might have, who had migrated to and settled in the State

<sup>75</sup> Laws of Missouri, 1847, pp. 103, 104.

<sup>76</sup> Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1855, p. 1093, Note A.

since 1847, if charged with some crime or misdemeanor, was a summary examination before some judge, justice of the peace, or other judicial officer. In order that this bill might be made as drastic as possible, it was also provided that every free negro and mulatto arrested for some crime or misdemeanor should be considered as having migrated into the State since 1847, unless he could prove to the officer before whom he was arraigned that he had come in prior to that date. The other provisions of this bill need not be alluded to.

This bill was vetoed by Governor Stewart. It was promptly reënacted during the next session of the legislature in March, 1860. This, too, was vetoed by Governor Stewart, and Missouri was saved from what was considered at that time by Governor Stewart and others as a most disgraceful act. First of all he pointed out that the United States Constitution and that of Missouri both provided especially for jury trial. He then showed how the burden of proof would be put upon the defendant, if he were compelled to show that he had been in the State prior to 1847. He urged the legislature to see to a vigilant enforcement of the laws of the State against the immigration of free negroes into the State, pointing out how other States were doing the same thing.

We see from this survey that whereas the Slave Code in Missouri had been virtually completed by 1825, the Free Negro Code was not completed until late in the fifties, and that but for the veto of the Governor an addition would have been made to it in 1859 that would have made it more drastic than it actually was. One can not help being impressed with the fact that as the Civil War approached, the Missouri slave owner became more and more alarmed

<sup>77</sup> Journal of House of Representatives of Missouri, 20th General Assembly, called session, 1860, pp. 123, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Journal of House of Representatives of Missouri, 20th General Assembly, called session, 1860, pp. 123-129.

## 316 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

over the free negroes in the State, few in numbers though they may have been, than he was about his slaves. This is largely due no doubt to the abolition agitation that became widespread throughout the whole country about 1835, and continued down to 1861. The frequent expressions from the Governors on the abolition agitation in their messages to the legislature, the resolutions passed from time to time by the legislature and representative bodies of other organizations, are some indication of the feeling of the Missouri slave owner and his sympathizer. The abolition agitation in the State, however, is a subject in itself, and can not be entered upon here.

In conclusion the author wishes to state that after having entered upon this study, he found that Mr. H. A. Trexler, a graduate student in Johns Hopkins University, is carrying on a most elaborate investigation of the whole subject of slavery in Missouri and intends to offer the results of his investigations in his doctor's thesis. Mr. Trexler has been very kind in making suggestions as the author has proceeded with his own study.

## THE ABORIGINAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE NEBRASKA COUNTRY

## By MELVIN RANDOLPH GILMORE

At first one may say that the geography of this country is permanent, and the aboriginal geography, whatever that may be, was not different from its present-day geography. But let us see. Geography is commonly defined as a description of the earth as the abode of man. implies a discussion of the interrelations of man, and his environment. It will at once be recognized that the environment of human life has been changed in this region since the incursion and by the agency of the present European inhabitants, and that this environment has become equalized, by the present facilities of intercommunication, throughout all North America; and the same has approximated to the conditions of human life in Europe. Thus North America is now essentially an annex of Europe as far as concerns society, industries, arts, literature, polities, economics, and all lines of human thought and endeavor. The movement and effect of European civilization upon America is analagous to that great geologic movement, known as glaciation, over the northern half of this continent. As the glacier resistlessly moved over the face of this continent and destroyed or covered the ancient conformation of the land, hiding hills and valleys, lakes and rivers, and destroying forests and prairies, denuding the area traversed of every form of plant and animal life formerly existing there, so this resistless wave of European civilization has moved upon the Western continent and destroyed and covered the forms of human activities and lines of advancement so that it can never be known, but only conjectured, what would have been the

type of civilization formed here by the aboriginal inhabitants, if they had been left undisturbed to develop along the lines of original impulse and controlled only by the forces of the resident physical conditions. We are so accustomed to the present order of things that perhaps we scarcely think of conditions of life having ever been otherwise than as they now are within the bounds of the territory comprised in the present State of Nebraska. We are so accustomed to the means of distant and rapid transport and quick communication by fast mail, by telephone and by telegraph, not only transcontinental but transoceanic, even by wireless, that we hardly think of what conditions would be without these facilities. Under present conditions our physical needs and our pleasures are supplied from every quarter of the globe. Not only so, but currents of thought are universal and projects of human activity are world-inclusive. We are so accustomed to all this that perhaps we never think of the possibility of a people subsisting entirely on the natural resources actually existing in this region without supplementation from elsewhere. Let any of us enumerate the articles coming to the table for the simplest meal and he will be surpised at the number of countries contributing materials to that He will very likely find that not a single article of his food is native to Nebraska; for supposing the wheat from which the bread is made grew here, it is descended from seed brought from beyond seas, originally from Europe or Asia; no one knows which, for it has been cultivated from prehistoric times. And the same is true also of the vegetables, though they may have grown in his own garden, cabbage, turnips, carrots, parsnips - even the ubiquitous potato, although American is not Nebraskan. The meat list, too, is foreign; and of fowl common to our tables, none are native but the turkey. Our fruits, beverages, and condiments are all foreign.

The material of our clothing is not produced in Ne-

braska; much less is it native here. Our fuel, our building materials, our implements of arts and crafts, objects used in the ceremonies of religion and articles of esthetic use, the appliances of medicine and surgery, all are brought in from without. Most of us can scarcely imagine life here without the aid of these outside things, life with only the means which alert and resourceful minds and active bodies could grasp from the natural resources of the Nebraska region. And yet a people did live here and found within our borders the materials of vegetal and animal food, of clothing, materials for tools and weapons, for medicines, for religious and heraldic symbolism and esthetic use. And further, since the forms of religion, the formulations of philosophy, the bonds of custom, and codes of ethics, the body of science, and the form of art are a reflection of the physical condition and surroundings of a people, we shall find these intellectual expressions of the aboriginal inhabitants of Nebraska to be moulded by the environment in which they were held. So the climate, the soil, the topography, all the physiographic features, the flora and fauna, all were factors in the control of the distribution, manner of life, arts, industries, government, and institutions of the aboriginal inhabitants, just as the corresponding factors in Europe gave form and direction to the combination of forces which make up our European civilization, which has now established itself here.

To obtain even an approximate appreciation of the conditions of life as they presented themselves to the tribesmen who formerly occupied the country drained by the Niobrara, the Platte, and the Republican, we must bring ourselves to see it as it was in its natural condition, void of all the countless accessories which we have brought to it from Europe or have erected here by our European culture and custom. Imagine, then, a country of open prairie stretching away and away beyond the range of

vision over hill, valley, and plain, the skyline unbroken by trees, except a fringe along the course of the larger streams and now and then some clumps of willows along the creeks. The aspect of this landscape in summer was that of a boundless sea of shining green, billowing under the prevailing south wind, darkened here and there by the swiftly marching shadows of clouds sailing high and white in the brilliant blue sky. Toward the end of the summer the sun appears to shed some of its lustre upon the plain below, for it now shines with paler light, while the ever restless, rustling, whispering sea of grass waves in rolling billows of golden green, seeming to be forever flowing on before the south wind into the mysterious North, changing again into vellow and warm browns as autumn comes on. Then some day the whole aspect is suddenly changed. To the windward the horizon is one long line of smoke, which, as it comes nearer, rolls up in black masses shot through with darting tongues of angry red flames leaping a hundred feet skyward, while the sound of the conflagration is like that of a rushing storm. This passes, and now the whole visible earth is one vast stretch of coal black, and the whole sky a thick blue haze in which the sun seems to hang like a great red ball, while an unbroken silence pervades the land. Winter comes, and the days of leaden sky and blackened earth are succeeded by clear days when the snow-covered earth appears like a vast dazzling white bowl inclosed by an over-arching dome of most brilliant blue. The season changes again; warm airs blow from the south, the blackened earth appears once more, soon showing color from the pale green spears of tender young grass, and in a short time the form of the earth is once more clothed with a mantle of shining green.

And now as the biting winds of winter yield to the balmy breezes from the south all animal life is awakened to activity with the vernal vegetation. The migratory birds are seen and heard flying northward by relays in hundreds of thousands. The Platte River is one of their relay stations and the V-shaped flocks coming northward in long lines wheel, circling down until tracts many acres in extent are whitened by the great numbers of brants. while the Canada geese in equal numbers darken other tracts; ducks in great numbers are swimming on all the ponds and quiet streams, and regiments and brigades of tall gray cranes are continually marching and drilling on land or sailing like fleets of monoplanes far up in the clear blue, whence float down to earth the vibrant notes of their bugle calls as they travel on into the North. On the higher prairies at sunrise as the long rays of the red morning sun slant brightly across the land the booming, drum-like sound of hundreds of prairie chickens is heard at their assemblies, for they dance at this morning hour. Soon the meadow larks appear with their joyous song and set about the duties of housekeeping, building their lowly nests at the grass roots, and all about are scenes of brightness and sounds of gladness. It was, then, in a country such as this that the various tribes who were our predecessors lived, drawing their sustenance from the native resources of the country itself.

The tribes formerly inhabiting the area now comprised within the bounds of the State of Nebraska were of three great racial stocks, the Siouan, Caddoan, and Algonquian. Of the Siouan stock there were the Dakota along the northern border and over the northwest part of the State in the region of the Upper Niobrara and the North Platte rivers, the Ponka on the north side of the lower course of the Niobrara, the Omaha in the northeast quarter of the State, the Oto in the southeast quarter of the State, and partly in Nebraska at the extreme southeast corner the Iowa, while the Kansa domain extended into the State from the south as far northward as the Big Nemaha River, bordering the Oto domain. To the westward of the Omaha and Oto extending from the Niobrara

at the north to and somewhat beyond the southern line of the State was the Pawnee nation consisting of four tribes. This nation is of the Caddoan stock. In the southwest part of the State, in the South Platte country, were the Arapaho and Chevenne, these tribes being racially allied with the great Algonquian stock whose principal area was in the St. Lawrence River region. These tribes of the western division of the Algonquian had been pushed to the west and south along the eastern foot of the Rocky Mountains by the westward tide of Siouan immigration from the east. The further northward progress of the Pawnee nation of the Caddoan stock was discouraged by encounter with the Siouan stock and by the less favorable conditions of soil and climate for agriculture north of the Niobrara; for the Pawnees, coming originally from the Mexican border, cultivated in the alluvial soil of the river valleys crops of many varieties of maize and beans, several varieties of squashes, one kind of tobacco, and one kind of watermelons. Besides these crops which were cultivated by the Pawnee, Omaha, and Oto, there were very many of the native plants of Nebraska used by the people of these tribes for various purposes, for alimentary, esthetic, ceremonial, medicinal, and miscellaneous purposes. Many of their uses of the plants, if known to us, might be suggestive to us of possibly useful acquisitions to our list of plants of economic value to our agriculture and horticulture. Since these plants have already, in a condition of nature, established themselves here they must be comparatively immune to diseases and resistant to adverse physical conditions, being adjusted and acclimated through successive generations for ages to drouth, wind, frost, and strong sunshine. It is reasonable to suppose that if promising species were subjected to cultivation and selective breeding they would show as much improvement as representatives of the same orders which we have brought from the old world, for the wild ancestors of our common cultivated plants were probably no more promising than wild plants native to this region.

Wild rice, Zizania aquatica, was an important source of food to the tribes who inhabited its range. It grew in the shallow lakes of the Sand Hills region, in swampy grounds along the Missouri River in the Dakotas, in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa.

The roots of Psoralea esculenta, called "pomme blanche" or "pomme de prairie" by the French vovageurs, were gathered by the women in marching from camp to camp as the tribe moved on the buffalo hunt. A wild bean, Falcata comosa, grows in great abundance along broken banks on the prairie and among the shrubbery at the edge of timber. These beans, as large as lima beans and of excellent flavor, were harvested and they provided a considerable item of food for the people. Another legume, Apios apios, a large vine growing over shrubbery in the woods along streams, furnished an important article of food in its enlarged roots something like sweet The Omaha name is nu and because of its abundance along the Loup River the Omaha name of that river is Nu-tan-ke, which may be translated "River-wherenu-abounds". The author can not here take further space to enumerate and describe the many other native plants which were used for food, for perfumes and dyes, for medicinal and ceremonial uses, and other miscellaneous purposes.

The Pawnee, Omaha, Oto, and Iowa lived in permanent villages of which the major controls determining their location were wood, unfailing water, and sufficient ground suitable for tillage where they could plant their fields and gardens. Then the abundance of game and wild fruits and other vegetal products had their place as contributory factors; thus the proximity of the Missouri River and of the Elkhorn, the lower course of the Platte, Republican, Blue, and Nemaha rivers were favorite places of abode.

From these more or less permanent settlements they traveled far and wide in chase of buffalo, elk, deer, and antelope and in quest of certain other natural resources found in only a few places, such as salt, which was obtained by all the tribes for hundreds of miles around at a place within the Oto domain where the city of Lincoln now stands, or rather in the basin west of the city on Salt River, which is a translation of the name by which the Omaha called that stream, Niskithe Ke. The salt was left by evaporation as a deposit on the surface of the ground and was gathered by being swept together with a feather brush.

The villages were not laid out in blocks but consisted of an irregular cluster of houses without streets. The mode of structure of these houses was an interesting one. A family chose the spot on which they wished to build, and a circular place of perhaps twenty, twenty-five, thirty, or forty feet in diameter was excavated to a depth of a foot and a half or two feet, a bench of earth of suitable width to serve as a seat by day or a bed by night being left at the circumference of the circle. Near the center four heavy forked posts fifteen feet or more in height were set with a circle of shorter posts where the wall was to be. In the forks of all these posts connecting timbers were laid and rafters were laid from the cross-timbers of the heavy center posts to the cross-timbers of the wall posts. Poles were placed in the intervening spaces and all interwoven with willow withes and thatched with grass. Sod was laid up over this, and finally loose clay was thrown over all and firmly tamped, making a dome-shaped, fire-proof, wind-proof, and rain-proof house. Light and ventilation was had from a circular opening in the roof just over the central fire-place. In order to control the draft of this opening so that the wind would not drive the smoke back, three stakes were set in a triangle on the roof surrounding the opening and a mat or skin was fastened to these so that the lee side was left open, the wind-break being changed whenever the wind changed. A vestibule about eight feet wide, ten or fifteen feet long, and seven feet high was made at the east side of the lodge, this being the only place of entrance. Skin flaps hung at the outer and inner end of this vestibule, giving more security of privacy and of protection from the weather. In the yard nearby was a scaffold or rack for drying meat, squashes, and fruits for winter use. Another adjunct of the dwelling was the bath lodge which stood near by. This was a small dome-shaped frame of bowed willow poles over which could be thrown mats or skins and in the center was a number of boulders. These boulders being thoroughly heated, water was thrown on them for a steam bath.

In traveling the dwelling was a conical tent made from buffalo skins erected on a frame set with their bases separated to the proper distance. This formed a support against which the rest of the poles were leaned, forming a circular frame on which the skin tent or tipi was raised. At the top an opening was left for ventilation and for an outlet for the smoke of the fireplace. The draft was regulated by two flaps or wings supported each on a movable pole slanted alongside the tipi with its base on the ground and its top fastened to the apex of the flap. This held the draft open toward the side away from the wind and was moved according to the change of the wind so as always to open toward the lee side.

The camp was arranged in a circle, each band of the tribe having its own proper segment of the circle, which was relatively the same through immemorial generations, and each family in each band had its proper place in the segment, so that one coming into camp after nightfall, although he might not have been in the camp before, could thus unmistakably find his way to his own family.

The hunt was organized and officered under just as strict discipline as a war party, for it was in fact a socialized industry, and any failure might subject the tribe to great hardship and suffering or even famine. So plans for the apprehension of the herds and the killing, skinning, and cutting up of the meat had to be carefully made and followed out, each individual having a definite duty in what was a community undertaking for the common welfare. In fact each hunter and each member of the party was a "soldier of common good".

After the killing the meat was cut into thin strips so that it could be quickly dried by hanging up on racks or poles in the sun and wind. Thus it was safely preserved and made as compact as possible for transportation to the village where it was stored for future use. White people think of the chase only as a form of sport, for they engage in it only as a diversion or as a means of obtaining game as a variety or novelty, supplementing a regular and assured food supply, instead of a grim and desperate quest of the means of livelihood, which it was indeed to the Indians. They had to travel hundreds of miles and be out in all weathers, ford rivers, and make long marches without water. When we think of the infrequency of springs and streams in western and southwestern Nebraska it may well be understood that the long dry marches were no small part of the hardship of the food quest.

Another hardship of the buffalo hunt was the constant danger of attack by war parties from tribes who were their enemies. Very frequently hunting parties of Omaha or Pawnee, while hunting along the Loup, the Platte, or the Republican, were thus attacked by war parties of Sioux and they sometimes sustained very severe losses in killed and wounded as well as in the capture of their horses.

While the men did the scouting, fighting, killing, and cutting up of the meat, the women were very busy in jerking and drying the meat, in fleshing the hides, and in preparing them for their several uses in the making of robes, moccasins, and all the various other articles for which

they were used. It was a very busy time for all members of the community. Two buffalo hunts occurred each year — one in the early summer after the corn was "laid by", and the other in the fall after the harvest of their crops.

Continually, in the home and in the public gatherings, the children and youth learned by precept and example the things which they needed to know and the things they needed to know how to do in order to fill their respective places in the world. There was no such institution as the school, but the home and the meetings, ceremonial or otherwise, fulfilled for the Indian youth the function which in our order of society is given over to the school.

So in the home and in the public ceremonials the youth learned the lore of his nation, and, as with us, some appropriated to themselves more and others less of this body of lore. Those who were most attentive thus qualified themselves best to be the leaders of their people as teachers and living repositories of the folk lore, of geographical knowledge, of tradition and story, which constituted the body of their national history — so far as they possessed history — their ethical judgments, principles, precepts and ceremonials of religion, and principles of practical economics. So those who gave special attention to these things came to be recognized as the wise men, the teachers, priests, lawyers, doctors, and head men or rulers.

It seems rather remarkable that so many of the aboriginal names of streams and places perpetuated with us are of Omaha origin. Thus the name of the State is the Omaha name, or rather the Omaha name modified by the incorrect pronunciation of the English-speaking tongue, of the largest river within the State. The French explorers in mapping the country designated this river as La Riviere Platte, which is the French translation of the Omaha name of the river, Ni bthaska; ni, water or stream of water, and bthaska, flat. Niobrara is a similar incorrect pronunciation of the Omaha name of that river, namely Ne ubthatha; ne, river, and bthatha, spreading.

It is so called by the Omaha because in its lower course where it touches their country it is sandy and in time of freshet quickly spreads over its bayous and banks. This river is compared in its lower course to the Platte River. The Omaha name of the Missouri River, the great river along the eastern border of the State, is descriptive of a phase of its appearance at low water and in windy weather when the fine sand of the bars is carried along above the river in thin, high, white columns like smoke. The name is Ni-shuda-ke, meaning Smoky River. The Big Blue River is the largest river in the country of the Oto. The Omaha name of the Oto tribe is Wathutada, so they call the river Wathutada-ni-ugthin-ke, meaning The-riverwhere-the-Oto-dwell. The Little Blue River is called by the Omaha Maa-ozhi-ke, Cottonwood River; maa, cottonwood, and ozhi, full, with the article ke carrying the idea of something extended, here understood to be a stream of water.

The Republican River is so named from the white man's name of one of the tribes of the Pawnee nation, who had a village on that river. The Omaha name of this river commemorates an event in their history. At one time on a buffalo hunt the tribe obtained a large quantity of squashes here and feasted on them. From that incident the river was thereafter called The-river-where-they-ate-the-squashes.

The stream which we call Big Papillion is by the Omaha called Village Creek or Creek-where-the-Omaha-farmed, because of a village site which they had there at one time. A stream which we call Little Papillion, a tributary of Big Papillion, is by the Omaha called Stream-where-they-killed-seven-Sioux. The name commemorates the punishment of a war party of Sioux who had attacked the Omaha village on the Big Papillion. The Omaha warriors overtook the enemy on the smaller stream and in the fight seven of the Sioux were killed.

The Omaha have their own names for many of the cities and towns of our State. The metropolis is in the country of the Omaha and very properly perpetuates the name of that tribe, and the Omaha themselves designate it by that name. Lincoln is called by them Salt City, because it has risen at the site of the salt marshes. They call Fremont The-place-where-they-set-up-the-Sacred-Pole, because at one time the ceremonial of the Sacred Pole was performed near the present site of the city of Fremont. The Sacred Pole of the Omaha nation was an object which might be compared by analogy to the Ark of the Covenant of the Hebrews. It may now be seen in the Peabody Museum at Harvard University.

The city of Columbus being situated at the confluence of Loup River with Platte River is called *Uzhata-tho*<sup>n</sup>, The-Place-of-the-Fork.

There is a small hamlet on the Old Military Road near the site of the old ferry over Elkhorn River twenty-two miles west of Omaha. There was a ford in the river at this place. Hence the Omaha call this place *Ni-uthite*, River-Crossing.

And so if space permitted, we might proceed to enumerate a very full local nomenclature in each tribe cognizant of this region, for all the rivers, creeks, lakes and other topographic features, the physiographic regions, and localities commemorated by some event of historic significance to another of the tribes.

A comparative list of a few place names as applied by Dakota, Omaha, and Pawnee, and identified by our names for the same places, is appended:

	English	Dakota	Omaha	Pawnee
1.		Mni-shose Muddy River	Ni-shude-ke Smoky River	Kiz-paruks-ti Wonderful River
	Missouri River	Mni—water, river shose—Muddy	Ni—water, river shude—smoke ke—an auxiliary particle	Kizu—water, river paruks—wonderful ti—is

## 330 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

English	Dakota	Omaha	Pawnee
	Mni-tanka	Ni-ubthatha	Kiz-kakis
2. Niobrara	Grand River	Spreading River	Swift River
River	Mni-water, river	Ni-water, river	Kiz(u)-water,
	tanka-great	ubthatha-spread-	river
		ing	Kakis—swift
	Pankeska Wakpa	Ni-bthaska	Kiz-Katus
3. Platte	Shell River	Flat River	Flat River
River	pankeska-shell	ni-water	Kizu-water
	wakpa—river	bthaska—flat	Katus—flat
	Keya-paha Wakpa	Hen-azhi-ke	Ra-kiz-kati-hiburi
	Turtle-hill River	An archaic name	Big Black River
4. Keya-paha	Keya-turtle	signifying Cedar Ridge River	ra-have it
River	paha-hill		kizu-water
	wakpa-river		kati-black
			hiburu—big
	Padani Wakpa	Watan-thata-i-ke	Kiraru ta
5. Republican	Pawnee River	Squash-feast River	Several streams
River	Padani-Pawnee	Watan-squash	become great
	wakpa-river	thata-eat	ki(zu)-water
		i—they	raru-several
		ke—an auxiliary particle carry- ing idea of a stream	ta—great
		Bircani	
	Padani-Wakpa-	Wathutada-ne-	Urutatukaku
	Uman-wak $pa$	ugthin-ke	Muddy River
6. Big Blue	other Pawnee River	Oto River	urutu—mud
River	Padani—Pawnee	Wathutada—Oto	ta—have
	Uman—other	ni-water	tukaku—sitting
		ughthin—dwell	
		ke—as explained before	
	Padani-Wakpa-	Maa-uzhi-ke	Uruztareyus
	chikala wakpala	Cottonwood River	Blue Mud River
	Little Pawnee River	Maa-cotton-wood	U(rutu)-mud
7. Little	Padani-Pawnee	uzhi—full	ruz—is
Blue River	wakpa-river	ke-as explained	tareyus-Blue
27110 211101	chikala—little wakpala—diminu- tive of wakapa,	before	
	1 )		

river

English	Dakota Wamnuha-ota-	$\begin{matrix} \textbf{Omaha} \\ \textbf{Wate} \end{matrix}$	Pawnee Kisita
8. Elkhorn River	wakpa River where snails abound wamnuha—snail ota—plenty wakpa—river	An Omaha name so old as to be ar- chaic and un- translatable	Kizu—water
9. Salt Creek		Niskithe-ke Salt River Niskithe—salt ke—as before explained	Kait Kizu Salt River Kait—salt Kizu—water, river
10. Wahoo Creek		Ugthita-gakthi Where Ugthita was stricken	Kipistat-Kizu Dogwood Creek Kizu—water, river Kipistatu—dog- wood
11. Maple Creek		Sia Aai Where they buried the tents	Rakizu Kizu Woodwater River Rakis—wood Kizu—water Rakis and kizu oom —pounded Kizu—water, river

Author's Note—In the spelling of words herein from the Omaha, Dakota, and Pawnee languages the letters are to be given the continental values to avoid ambiguity as to pronunciation.

The n raised above the line as in  $uma^n$  indicates a vanishing sound of n something like the French nasal n.

The letter h with a circle above it indicates a sound like the German ch or Greek x, as in wamnuha.

### A COURSE IN CURRENT HISTORY

#### By E. L. HENDRICKS

That history has a value in education is not questioned, but the degree of its efficiency in life is always before the judgment bar of public opinion. Each age dictates its own standards of efficiency, and the question of how we present a subject must be determined by the age in which we live. Paulsen says that in ancient times the individual was educated for the State, in the Middle Ages for the church, and in modern times for himself. We well know that under the spirit of rationalism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries history was a collection of accidental occurrences brought about in a haphazard manner. To satisfy a culture which has been described as "an entity living in elegant isolation from its environment" must have been the chief purpose of historical study at that time. But to-day the public asks us to measure the teaching of history in terms of social efficiency. This insistent demand for the practical and vocational, which is obviously the most distinctive movement in education today, prompts one to inquire if our conception of education has not become democratic while our execution has remained aristocratic. The public asks us to unite history and life. It asks us to equip the day laborer as well as the scholar for the practical affairs of life; and it asks that history aid in the solution of the problems of the present rather than the past.

In answer to this call of the public that history and life unite, we offer in the State Normal School at Warrensburg, Missouri, a course in current history. I have been asked to give an account of this course rather than to present an essay on a more pretentious subject. Since

the course is an experiment, I invite your indulgence; and since our faith in its educational value is large, I invite your criticism.

The very term "current history" is objectionable to many scholars. One professor of history has told me frankly that there can be no such subject. His notion is that the critics must have disposed of historical material before it is given to students in school — a sort of predigestive-tablet theory. I am aware that if we adhere to the idea that history is a record of past events there can be no current history. But if we accept Max Nordeau's statement that history is the sum total of the achievements of the human race in its struggle for existence, current history becomes possible. If we realize further that only a minute fraction or fragment of history is written, we may easily catalog current history among the most valuable divisions of the subject.

Let me speak first of the organization of the course, and second of its apparent values. The course takes the place of a course previously offered in the constitutional history of Rome. It is an elective course, and only those students who have finished all required work in history are admitted. The course extends through one quarter and may not be repeated.

The first work in class is the selection of subject matter. Out of a list of a hundred or more topics of present interest, students are assigned subjects to be prepared and reported in class. These subjects are grouped under the following heads of institutional life: (1) political, (2) social, (3) industrial, (4) educational, and (5) religious. Under the head of political life, for example, reports are called for on the initiative and referendum, the recall, the direct primary, short ballot, public utilities commissions, civil service, woman's suffrage, parcels post, postal savings banks, trusts, immigration, arbitration, income tax, inheritance tax, and other subjects. Under social life are

listed such subjects as the social center, penal reform, divorce, eugenics, amusements, and the country life movement. Under industrial life we have reports on labor organizations, labor legislation, workmen's compensation and employer's liability laws, profit sharing, inventions, commerce, and conservation. Frequently one of these subjects requires subdivision. Conservation, for example, divides into conservation of soil, minerals, forests, water supply, and health. In like manner, education and religion are divided and subdivided into topics suitable for reports in class.

The second step is the selection of reference material. This consists chiefly of periodicals, recent books on the subjects assigned, government bulletins, and year books. I wish to say, parenthetically, that the American Year Book has been especially valuable in the work of this course. Each student has at hand a list of all bound and current periodicals. If necessary, students are instructed in the use of indexes and other means of securing material. The reports are presumed to be as exhaustive as the sources and time limit will permit.

Note books are a requirement. And the organization of reports into forms adapted to note-taking is insisted upon, not less strongly by the teacher than by members of the class. The ordinary essay is not adapted to note-taking and some instruction is usually necessary early in the course on the preparation and presentation of reports. After the report is given the subject is open to criticism and further inquiry. Students are enabled to prepare for this round table discussion from the program reports, posted a week in advance. No uniform method of treating a subject is demanded, but if the subject has a history the background is presented briefly, and if the subject is debatable both sides of the question are presented. Reports vary in length from one to three recitation periods of fifty minutes each. A minimum of two and a maximum

of three reports are required of each student. One of these reports must be given in class; the others are presented to the teacher, if not to the class. Aside from his own special reports, each student has, at the end of the quarter, copious notes on about fifty topics of vital interest in his life. I submit the proposition that a knowledge of these subjects is more important to the average student than a course of similar length on the constitutional history of Rome.

In introducing the course I had no doubt of its pedagogical value, but I had some anxiety in regard to the standards of work that could be exacted. Now it is evident that the course may be as exacting, the tests as frequent and rigid as in any other course. If formal discipline has any standing in polite educational society today, the strictest disciplinarian would be pleased with the mental drill he could secure from such a course.

But there are other values apparent. First, students are intensely interested in the work. Strange as it may be, not all history is interesting to all students. History has been defined as the cow-boy on the plains defined life - "just one blank thing after another". But there is no monotony in a course in current history. The students feel that it is real life in the real present. They remember it because they have use for it. In a discussion of memory, Henri Bergson, in his most interesting volume on Creative Evolution, says: "The cerebral mechanism is arranged just so as to drive back into the realm of the unconscious almost the whole of this past, and to admit beyond the threshold of consciousness only that which can cast light on the present situation or further the action now being prepared — in short, only that which can do useful work. At the most a few superfluous recollections may succeed in smuggling themselves through the half open door. These memories, messengers from the unconscious, remind us of what we are dragging behind us

unawares". In history teaching are we not dragging behind us unawares a mass of material which can do no useful work?

Again, the course described illustrates the continuity of history. For it bridges the gap between the average text and the present. I have been told that no text in history should approach the present nearer than ten years. through fear of destroying the perspective. Now we must admit that the present growth of civilization has its roots deep in the past, and we need to know some of the past in order to understand some of the present. But it is equally true, and vastly more important, that if we never reach the present we will never understand it. It is also true that we need to know the present in order to understand the past. For example, is not a knowledge of modern labor unions as essential to an understanding of the journeymen associations of the fourteenth century as the journeymen associations are essential to the knowledge of modern unions? As one of my students has written it, "An understanding of the motives which prompt movements to-day helps us to understand the great historical movements of the past."

The course is a splendid means of developing a critical judgment. The student is dependent on his own resources. In developing "a nose for news" he must discriminate in the choice of material. Often he must suspend judgment. Moreover, the subjects treated are those upon which students must soon construct judgments. Is not the subject of woman's suffrage, presented with historical background and with arguments for and against, as valuable in the development of a critical judgment as is the winning of rights by the plebeians in Roman history? And I am unable to understand why the judgment passed on the acts of President Woodrow Wilson may not be as accurate as the judgments passed on the acts of Napoleon.

Politicians are as well agreed on the former as historians are on the latter.

It is unnecessary to say that a course in current history enables the teacher to select material with freedom. The social and industrial sides of life, the progress of science, the development of education, or the evolution of religion may be presented in the proportions desired. Here the teacher may throw aside all the past that is disjointed from the present; here he can trade his mummies for men. I have some sympathy for Mike in a story told by Professor Muzzey. The story illustrates the effectiveness of a detached historical incident. Professor Muzzev's colleague was trying to impress on a class of settlement boys the awful character of Nero. He told them how Nero poisoned his courtiers, kicked his wife, killed his mother, and how he longed to sever the heads of all his subjects with a single stroke of the axe. Then turning to Mike to get the reaction, he asked, "Well, Mike, what do you think of this man Nero?" Mike roused himself sufficienty to drawl out: "Huh! he never done nothing to me."

Since this course in current history is original as far as the speaker is concerned, I have been interested in the attitude of students toward the course. When it was first offered I asked that the number of students admitted be limited to fifteen. The course has now been offered six times and the attendance in a single class has reached fifty-one. I have noted some voluntary expressions from students. Many students say that how to use the library never became a reality to them until they met the requirements of this course. One student says that he learned how to boil down a great mass of material, another that he has been given a tool with which to attack the problems of life, and yet another says that his feeling of responsibility as a citizen has been greatly increased. The individuality of a student is revealed in the following: "In written history we must accept the historian's viewpoint

#### 338 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

but in current history we can weigh the evidence and form our own conclusions". A young woman says that it helps her to be more efficient socially. She says that before taking the course she had no idea of the meaning of such subjects as the initiative and referendum, recall, direct primary, or short ballot; she adds that she now enjoys a conversation with her father. Another student says that the entire nature of her reading in current magazines has been changed; that whereas she formerly looked for McClure's, or Munsey's, or Life, she now enjoys the North American Review, the Nineteenth Century, and the American Journal of Sociology. We commend the development of her appreciation, but as true teachers trust that her loss of interest in Life or Puck will not be permanent.

Professor Bourne, in commenting on the "complete living" definition of education, says that history does not facilitate complete living with the apparent directness of several other studies. But current history, if you will admit that there is such a thing, does contribute to complete living. It is not the only means of relating history to the present, but it is an effective means. It meets the demand of the public that history and life unite. For it socializes history, and it does secure that reaction on the part of the student which Dr. Dewey counts the vital prin-

ciple in history teaching.

## A COURSE IN HISTORY FOR THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

#### By MATTIE ALLEN

The proposed course of study in history for the elementary schools of Nebraska upon which this discussion is based is somewhat along the line of the course laid down by the Committee of Eight, though there are some well marked differences. The proposed course requires but one and one-half years of time to be devoted to the study of organized history in the elementary grades, whereas the course of study outlined by the Committee of Eight requires three years. In the second place the new course holds that history should be gone over but once in the grades; that there should be no repetition, except short reviews given frequently to keep the main line of development well in mind: that the subject matter should be always new and fresh, because children have less interest in history when the life and spirit has been taken out of it by constant repetition in the lower grades. The Committee of Eight provide for covering American history at least twice in the elementary school.

We agree with the Committee of Eight that too much emphasis has been laid upon the Atlantic as a natural boundary not only of the American continent but also of the history of America; "that the America of to-day, its civilization, its institutions, and its traditions can best be explained in the light of the previous history of the peoples who came to America"; but we do not agree with the Committee that the best means of accomplishing the end desired lies in covering American history once in the first five grades, and a second time in the seventh and eighth grades, throwing in between in the sixth grade a study of

the Greeks, Romans, Germans, and English. We believe that there is a decided feeling against the isolation of any one period of history for elementary school pupils, and we hold that American history is best taught only when given in its relation to world history, that the great movement of history is continuous, and that it should be presented as such in its logical sequence.

The new course then begins with the world at the time when history begins and carries the story down to the present time uninterruptedly by portraying great movements. Careful attention is given to the life, home, and civilization of the peoples carrying forward the movements, and special emphasis is placed upon what each people has contributed to civilization. The first lesson starts with the most ancient peoples, the peoples inhabiting the Nile and Tigrus-Euphrates valleys. The movement of civilization is then traced through the Greek and Roman peoples. The great events that carry on the development from 400 to 1492 are the Germanic occupation of Europe, the Empire of Charlemagne, feudalism, chivalry, the Norse discovery of America, the Roman Conquest of England, the conflict between the Roman Church and the German rulers, the Crusades, the rise and development of the nations of Europe, the Renaissance, and the Columbian discovery of America. This period from 400 to 1492 is the most difficult period of history for grade children, because it is so hard to keep uppermost in the mind of the young pupil the great movements as seen in the large, since he is apt to become confused by the lesser movements with their multitude of details. From this period on, the development of American civilization is carried on as a part of the history of world development, though special attention is given to the lesser movements which go on wholly within the borders of the United States.

The main topics following the Columbian discovery which carry us forward from that point are the Reformation in Europe and in connection with this movement the Spanish, English, and French occupation of America; the Age of Religious Wars in Europe with the founding of Colonies in America; the great French-English struggle for world supremacy in Europe; the French and Indian Wars in America: the British Colonial policy resulting in the American Revolution, independence of the Colonies, and the establishing of the new government; the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era in Europe, in America the struggle for neutral rights terminating in America with the War of 1812; the Holy Alliance in Europe with the struggle for Spanish American independence in America; the rise, triumph, and decline of Jacksonian Democracy, the slavery struggle, Civil War, rise of industrial questions, imperialism, world struggle for Democracy and for better social and industrial conditions. The above suggests only the main headings. The sub-headings are carefully filled in in the complete outline.

As to the method of conducting the work, it is recommended that the teacher assign the general topic for each day's discussion in advance, outline it, suggest larger points to be looked for, and then let the student do his own studying from the text and reference books. Each main topic should extend from the beginning to the end of some very clearly defined movement in history. The topic should express the significant thing in the situation or movement, and should be connected with what comes before and what comes after.

In the recitation the teacher should draw out one by one the essential points. The teacher must herself have clearly in mind the point to be made and must hold her pupils steadily to that point. Each recitation should be closed by the teacher with a few sentences which make clear what the day's lesson as a whole was intended to bring out. The teacher will need to consult several, even many, texts in preparing each topic, and the pupil should

be made familiar with the purpose and method of reference book reading and reporting. The globe and maps should be freely used at every point throughout the entire course. Pictures are very valuable in connection with this course, but great care should be exercised in their choice, and too many should never be used, else the child gets a confused notion of many things rather than one clear picture. Reviews should be frequent, intelligent, and thorough. No review should ever be left until the majority of the class understand the main line of development reviewed. Movement, not details, should be the aim. Details should be only numerous enough to make movements clear. The teacher should keep constantly in mind the immaturity of the child of twelve or thirteen years and the very limited experience which he must of necessity bring to the interpretation of history.

We do not claim or expect that the pupil of the grammar grades will fully understand the meaning of all the movements studied, but we do believe that if the course is presented simply he can not fail to grasp the idea that history is a continuous story. We believe also that he will catch something of "The civilization which formed the heritage of those who came to America, and that he will at least to some extent understand what America started with." If the earlier migrations of peoples and the causes of these migrations are clearly traced, the pupil will be able to understand the discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the causes of emigration to America. Without a notion of these earlier movements, the later ones become unintelligible facts to be memorized and recited for the benefit of the teacher.

It will readily be seen that it is not the aim of this course of study to teach ethics, and we object to the twisting of historical facts to point a moral. Nor is it the chief end of the course to make better citizens, nor yet to teach patriotism, though it is to be hoped that a better

patriotism will follow in a more accurate knowledge of the relation of the history of the United States to world history, and in a more modest opinion of the place which our own country occupies among the great nations of the earth.

Our aim is a very simple one. We hope through a clear, simple, and forceful presentation of the connected story of history to give the grade pupil, to some extent at least, an appreciative feeling for the situations and movements of history as seen in true historical perspective. We also hope to train his historical judgment by requiring him continually to determine what facts are important for carrying on the main development of the topic, and what are merely unessential details. The study of history in the elementary grades should develop a critical attitude towards the subject matter of the text used. For this reason the pupil should daily examine more than one text on the topic under consideration, and should weigh and compare the statements of the texts. The study of history should also aim to give the young child a tolerant attitude of mind. In brief, history in the elementary schools should aim to give the child the true historical attitude of mind.

The new course of study in history for the elementary schools of Nebraska was written by Mr. C. E. Persinger of the Department of American History in the University of Nebraska, assisted by six teachers of elementary school history in the public schools of Lincoln, Nebraska. These teachers have used the course successfully for the past two years in the Lincoln schools.

# THE PRESENT DAY ENGLISH SOCIAL REVOLUTION

By HOWARD W. CALDWELL

The last hundred years has seen the world transformed in many ways. A century ago each nation, one may almost say each community, lived its own life determined in the main by its local conditions. To-day the world has become, or is rapidly becoming, a unit. Time has been annihilated, and distance reduced to meager terms. Information and knowledge of the world's life is the daily food of all. The continents and the nations are linked together by copper and the Marconi wireless. Industrially it is one. Periods of prosperity and depression, "booms", panics, and crises are usually world-wide, differing only in degree of intensity. Even for its necessities as well as its luxuries, each nation depends largely on its neighbor States, and the lives of all are inextricably bound up in one great whole. Steam and electricity, science and invention are making all problems worldproblems. This fact may be illustrated in the rapid and almost universal growth of democracy, with the new problems it is forcing to the front for consideration and solu-The old individualistic philosophy is giving way to the growing spirit of social action. The community is recognized as the unit, not the individual or even the family; hence legislation everywhere is putting restraints on the power of the one or the few, on the corporation or trust as the representative organization of class interests, in order to secure the good of all. Production, under modern processes, whatever its nature, whether for material use as food and clothing or for an intellectual or moral purpose, is largely the result of social effort; hence the

thought is growing into an ideal, that as all — the entire community — are factors in production, so all should be equal sharers in the result of their common labor and effort.

Among the great civilized nations of the world, England has seemingly been the most hesitant to accept in theory and apply in practical legislation these new conceptions. The strength of her established aristocracy, the dominance of class interest, and the remarkable development of her individualistic philosophy are only just now trembling in the balance. The isolated or insular position of the nation, the homogeneity of its population, the leadership which had been secured in intellectual as well as in industrial life, the pride in its achievments, the contentment and self-satisfaction which had naturally grown up as a result, all tended to make England hesitant to respond to the movement toward socialization. Also the doctrine of competition, the idea of the survival of the most worthy, the belief that each man could, if he would, secure his own well-being had such firm hold on the minds of the masses as well as the leaders that the conception that the old conditions had passed and new forces had supplanted them came to the front very slowly. Perhaps nowhere were these new industrial and scientific inventions more fully incorporated into its productive life than in England; and nowhere until recently was there less legislative action to make social conditions conform to these world-wide changes.

The results are apparent as one traverses the streets of London or visits the great manufacturing centers of England. The vast masses of its population living on the verge of starvation, dwelling in the midst of filth and clothed in rags; the increasing numbers of the "down and out"; the relative lack of scientific training among its mill operatives, and of technical skill in the mass of its laborers; the relative backwardness of its elementary and sec-

ondary education — all these things were and are yet to a great measure so obvious that the need, even the necessity. of action becomes apparent to even the most superficial onlooker. At last England, or at least a powerful and at present a seemingly dominant force in it, has under the leadership of Asquith, Lloyd George, Gray, Churchill, and the labor interests resolved not merely upon reform. but upon an immediate transition from the old to the new - in a word upon a social revolution. But the necessities of the occasion, through the conservatism of the aristocratic classes, have called for and forced revolutionary measures to be taken in regard to the entire life of the British nation. Perhaps never in the history of any great modern nation, at least, have there been more and greater problems than those that at the present moment confront the Asquith ministry.

In order to clear the way for the great social reforms to be wrought, it was necessary to make a change in the Constitution itself. The reform of the House of Lords by which its equal power with the Commons was taken away marks a most fundamental innovation. The bicameral system was weakened, the power of the aristocracy was lessened, and the way opened for the complete annihilation of both. Thus the English Constitution as it had existed for centuries is no more. But this change in the constitutional principles of Parliamentary organization brings a still more fundamental one into sight; for with the grant of home rule to Ireland, the principle of unitary government receives a blow which may foreshadow its death, and the development of the Federal system. Already the suggestion has been made, by Winston Churchill, I believe, that in addition to giving Scotland and Ireland local parliaments, England herself should be divided into States, each with its own legislative body. Should this be done then the British Parliament would become the representative of the Imperial idea only. Thus the Federal system, with perhaps the outlying provinces as members, would soon be fully developed. These constitutional tendencies and changes are in themselves so vast and revolutionary that they might well be regarded as work enough for one administration; but, as a matter of fact, they are only the open door, as it may be called, to the greater undertakings in the background.

The changes planned in the political field are perhaps not so fundamental, but they may become far-reaching. In the disestablishment of the Welsh Church, a precedent will be set for the complete divorce of church and state - a measure marking a revolution in the most conservative field of English life. But it is in the extension of the suffrage on the one side, and the destruction of plural voting on the other, that the Liberal party has to look for the means to secure sufficiently permanent tenure of office in order to gain time to carry through its social plans. The aggressiveness of the militant suffragettes has divided all parties, and deferred, if not defeated for some time, manhood suffrage, the granting of which would doubtless have given complete power at once to the old fourth estate. The Asquith ministry, if it is able to retain its power till 1915, will doubtless secure the establishment of the principle of "one man one vote", thus depriving the land owners, and in the main the Union party, of some 600,000 plural votes now cast under existing laws.

But while these constitutional and political movements are far-reaching in character, and even revolutionary in extent, they only lay the groundwork for the sweeping measures that are in process of development along social and industrial lines. The plans of Lloyd George, if carried out in full, will mark the transformation of English thought. The transition from *laissez faire* and extreme individualism to the most radical social undertakings is scarcely less revolutionary in degree, than the transition from the absolutism of Louis XVI to the republicanism of the French Revolution. The fact that one was carried through by blood and the other by law constitutes the primary difference, for there is hardly a field of human activity into which Lloyd George, as the ablest exponent of this radical movement, has not entered. Already laws have been passed providing for old age pensions and compulsory sickness insurance. During the last year 603,380 women and 362,628 men, or in round numbers 1,000,000 persons, have been on the old age pension list, or about one in every 45 of the population of the British Isles. The English budget in the last nine years has increased \$175,000,000; but of this vast increase \$100,000,000 has been used to pay old age pensions and sickness insurance, and another \$20,000,000 for education, or about two-thirds of the entire increase has been added for these three social activities. The law for old age pensions aroused little radical opposition; but some two years ago, when Lloyd George introduced his compulsory insurance bill, the struggle soon became intense. Even then unfortunately for the consistency of the Union party, it approved the general principles of the act. Later, however, when the fact that, among large sections of its beneficiaries, it was not as popular as had been expected became known, the party attempted to secure its defeat, alleging that the terms of the bill were too drastic, and were unjust and socialistic. It was also urged that the government was rushing the bill through Parliament without due consideration. The measure had its foundation in the German system and laws, but the bill as drafted by Lloyd George incorporated into England's life, at a single stroke, more than Germany had worked out in twenty years. Resistance became bitter. Of Britain's 32,000 physicians, some 25,000 — most of them Unionists - combined in opposition to the bill as drawn, claiming that their rights and interests were sacrificed. The conservative women of the land, joined by a few Liberals, organized associations for the purpose of securing the cooperation of the 3,000,000 domestic servants of Great Britain in refusing to yield obedience to the law. The Daily Telegraph, and the Daily Post, two of the most influential of the English newspapers, advised from day to day that the law be resisted and made a dead letter by the servants, employers, and others refusing to pay their dues.

This insurance law is very comprehensive in its terms, for it applies to every English laborer in whatever employment, whose income is less than one hundred and sixty pounds (about \$775 per year). Some 15,000,000 of the English working men and women come under its provisions, and will thus secure sickness benefits. Every person in England affected by tuberculosis must register, and will be cared for under the provisions of this law. Lloyd George holds to the theory that England's pauper and criminal classes are largely the product of the discouragement that has come in the past from the conditions left by sickness. Under this law he expects hope to survive. The laborer and his family being provided for by this sickness fund will retain their self-respect and ambition. They will resume work with restored health and be able to retain an honorable position in social life. Pauperism and loss of self-respect will be avoided. It is yet too soon to determine the workings of the law in detail. Its ultimate cost and value only time can deter-Yet it is interesting to note that Lloyd George's opponents have been discomfited, and since January 15, 1913, the law has been in full operation. That its unpopularity was temporary and is passing seems to be proved by the special elections. While the bill was pending and yet under discussion nearly every bye-election resulted in Unionist gains. In recent months, however, these byeelections have been favorable to the Liberals. Lloyd George's prediction may yet be verified, namely, that its workings will make this law the most popular act on the English statute books.

This insurance act, perhaps the most important of the social measures thus far passed by the Asquith ministry, is, however, only one of many radical measures pending or proposed. Investigation looking to national city planning is under way. The hope is to secure greater beauty, utility, and health, and to organize so that the city may secure for its own use the unearned increment. The whole trend of city legislation is away from England's former individualism, and indicates the triumph of community thought and action. The Unionists also recognize this necessity. Lord Curzon a few days since said that "a party to be united requires a platform and a program. . . . Change and ferment was going on everywhere in the public mind which would not end until it had profoundly affected the social structure of the country." He "would indicate three contributions the Unionists could make to the solution of the social problems. The first was to increase the numbers of owners of the soil. . . Then there was the question of housing both in rural and urban areas. Millions of people were living in a state of squalor and destitution scarcely better than pigs in sties. . . . Another issue . . . . was the reform of the poor law system. . . . This policy of housing and of land was an imperial policy just as much as the defence of our shores. You could not sustain an empire with discontented citizens; it was impossible to preach empire to poverty stricken homes".

In sanitary legislation and in laws for city and country housing, the cabinet plans are no less aggressive. The question of health is to be made, is in fact being made, a question of national interest; and the right of the public to invade the sacred domain of the home — an English-

man's castle in former days — is asserted, when it is necessary to care for and secure the public health and weal.

But the new movement is still more marked in the invasion by the state of England's traditional educational The public schools are advancing at the expense of the church schools. A year ago London alone provided for the expenditure within the next few years of some \$50,000,000 in new school buildings. But the greatest awakening is along new lines of educational activity. The system is to be remodeled so as to provide not only for the children of the well-to-do in classical terms, but new lines of education for the masses, for the laborers, are being developed with startling rapidity. Nightschools, prolongation and vocational training classes, agricultural and scientific courses are being provided in many sections of England. Much is yet to be done to put England's schools on a par with those of Germany, but the new spirit that is looking to health, sanitation, city building, and insurance is also aroused to the needs of the children of the poor. On March 25th Lord Haldane in an educational address said that the government had had a powerful committee of the cabinet in consultation with educational experts for months preparing plans for a national scheme of education, which will soon be ready. He said that "a national system of education would secure a great many things. It would ensure that our workmen were on the level of the workmen of other countries, and it would do a great deal to break down the great line of demarkation that there was between the man who worked with his hands and the man who worked with his head. The real democrat was the school-teacher. Let him loose and he would break down the barriers which separated class from class. As part of a great democratic movement a true system of national education was vital." Again he said that "more than that the meaning of education must be wider than that they had been familiar with, they were learning that not only the brain but the eye and the ear and the hand could be the means of training the mind and moulding the character. They must get new views of what was being done elsewhere in continuation classes, etc." The new plan will embrace higher, secondary, and primary education. According to Lord Haldane "the quality of secondary education in this country [England] properly organized and recognized by the state is an almost negligible quantity." Rural schools, he added, needed great improvement. The children of the agricultural laborers are neglected; but he stated that all these would be cared for by the "Chancellor of the Exchequer". He ended by saying that the government would see to it that "at the head of every school there was a good teacher."

But all these movements will be regarded as merely elementary when compared to the next measure which is in the near future, namely, the reform of the land laws, and the settlement of the various land problems. So far. in most directions, only feelers have been thrown out. A revaluation of the land is now under way which, when completed, will secure a more equitable distribution of land taxes. This, however, seems to be only an entering wedge. Already the problem of making an entire change in the nature of the taxes of the country is under discussion. As far as I have heard, Lloyd George has not committed himself; but some of his more radical followers are openly for the single tax, and seem to be testing out its popularity. The ownership of the vast estates by the few is already under discussion, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer has announced a bill within a year dealing with this, the most tremendous, perhaps, of all England's problems.

Mr. George has said that as long as there is a single Englishman who belongs to the "down and out class", as long as there is a person in Britain who is not living in comfort or decency, at least, he will not be content. He hopes to see the day when England and the English people have redeemed themselves, and when comfort prevails on every hand and contentment at every fireside.

The work to be done is tremendous and full of difficulties. One can still hear from the lips of some of the moderately well-to-do expressions of supreme contempt for the manual laborer and the poor. Sympathy is apparently only just awakening. Any real feeling of responsibility by the ruling classes for the poverty and penury, the hard lines in which the masses move, is just beginning to find expression. One sometimes wonders whether Asquith, Lloyd George, and their colleagues may not be running ahead of public sentiment, and thus riding for a fall. It was my good fortune to mingle day after day in the summer of 1911 with the 100,000 or more dock and transportation strikers, and thus to form some idea of their point of view. They seemed cool, silent, determined, and full of practical common sense; yet one could feel that the ideal of mutual helpfulness, of standing together, and of a brotherly sympathy was present. These growing bonds among the labor classes may give strength to the radical reformers to tide over this dangerous moment, and to sustain the government past the hour when England's radical individualism, still to be felt on every side, shall yield to the new spirit that is encompassing the narrowing world - narrowing in size, but expanding in sympathy. England must sustain this reformatory work or lose her place as world leader. Germany, with her remarkable organizing power, her universal education, and her scientific skill, will soon outstrip her, unless England awakes to the full, learns to clean her streets, clothe her people properly, and educate them to their highest capacity. A feeling of pessimism, which seems to be prevalent and apparently growing, must be removed, and a renewed belief in the innate capacity of the race must be revived. With these things done, the English race still possesses

#### 354 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

the qualities and the capacity to remain the land of Shake-speare and Cromwell, of Tennyson and Gladstone. The latent power is there and needs only to be aroused, refined, and educated. Then the past will be only a prediction of what is to be. A powerful democracy—give it this idealism and the new and universal education; give it breadth and technical knowledge, and there will be no limit to its future contributions to the world's work. On the other hand, let a wrong move or turn occur now with the loss of the ideals and standards of the day, and the world's leadership passes from England's grasp. Then Germany, on the one hand, and America, on the other, will struggle for the leadership in human brotherhood and power.

## AN INSPECTOR'S OBSERVATION OF HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY TEACHING

#### By Forest C. Ensign

Public education was established by the first legislature of Iowa Territory in 1838. Under the provisions of the law of that year a few schools were organized, but a more complete law, enacted in 1840, is regarded as the real basis of the State's public school system. The law of 1840 challenges the admiration of the modern student. It was broad enough, and granted to the administrators power enough, to permit the development of an efficient system of schools. It was reënacted by the legislature in 1845, served with minor modifications until 1857, when the present Constitution was adopted, and may still be recognized in the unsystematic, patch-work display of legal inconsistencies known as the Iowa School Laws.

Let me hasten to defend my State by adding that the legislature just adjourned has greatly changed our school laws, making provision for a vastly stronger administration of education under authority responsible to appointive bodies. Under these provisions, effective July next, it seems that the ideals of 1840, broadened by the experience and progress of the years, may at last be more nearly realized than has been thus far possible.

Iowa has been conservative, as are all Commonwealths which are essentially rural. Local constituencies have been jealcus of their rights, and in matters educational have been largely a law unto themselves. Little by little the stronger features of the earlier school law were eliminated or modified. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction was allowed to retain little more than clerical functions. Even the State University was

separated from any vital relationship with the rest of the educational system, and there remained no legal, coördinating influence, no authority strong enough to require any degree of uniformity in either courses of study or methods of instruction.

To be sure, there have been extra-legal agencies which have brought about some degree of uniformity in courses of study and have insured in town and city schools and in the more progressive counties a fair degree of educational progress. These influences have been advisory. The State Department of Education has published courses of study and advised their adoption by local boards, but the actual course pursued has been left to the community, except that by legislative enactment physiology and music must be taught throughout the State, and presently agriculture and domestic science are to be required.

Naturally enough, under the conditions indicated, history has not fared well in Iowa courses of study. the course suggested by the State Department of Education, no definite provision is made for history prior to the seventh grade, though beginning in the second half of the fourth grade biographical stories are suggested, and the outlines for geography in the sixth grade include reference to the leading historical incidents connected with prominent places. In connection with geography, the reading of an elementary history is recommended. the seventh grade text-book study of United States history is taken up and continued through the first half of the eighth grade, where it gives way to the civil government of State and nation throughout the remainder of the year. No serious attempt has been made by the State Department to influence the secondary course, except in those schools receiving State aid for normal training courses.

The most potent unifying force in the Iowa secondary schools has been the institutions of higher learning, and of course the University of the State has been the most important single factor in shaping curricula and in fixing requirements. Among the fifteen units required for admission must be one in history. This may include political economy and civics; hence it appears that a student may enter the highest institution of learning in the State without having actually studied any history, either in the elementary or secondary schools.

Secondary education in the State has developed very rapidly in the last ten or a dozen years. All this development has been in the public high schools, as the academies have, with one or two exceptions, been growing weaker and gradually disappearing. In that time the number of accredited high schools has more than doubled. Up to 1910, the administration of accrediting was in the hands of the University. Since that time, it has centered in a board on Secondary School Relations, deriving its authority from the single Board of Education having charge of the State educational institutions. The real force and authority of this Board on Secondary School Relations is the State High School Inspector appointed for an indefinite period by the Board of Education. The Inspector is the one official in Iowa who has been in actual contact with the high schools during this period of rapid development.

The University began systematic inspection of schools in 1901. Prior to that time, there had been for several years more or less irregular inspection, but in 1901 a trained man, devoting practically all of his time to the visiting of schools was placed in the field. He was connected with the College of Liberal Arts in the University, holding a professorship in the Department of Education, but did little actual teaching. The writer, following the first regularly appointed Inspector in 1905, served first as University Inspector and later as Inspector under the State Board until July, 1911. Since that period, he has been Examiner in the State University and hence should

possess rather definite first-hand knowledge of the status of the various subjects in the high schools. His interest in the theme under consideration is all the keener from the fact that for several years prior to assuming the inspectorship he had taught classes in American history and civics and occasionally in English history in one of our larger high schools.

During the time to which I shall confine my attention, there was, I believe, more progress made in the theory of history teaching than in any of the other subjects of the high school course. In that time there appeared the two great reports to the American Historical Association, which have exercised a most profound influence upon earnest teachers of history in both secondary and elementary schools—the reports of the Committee of Seven and the Committee of Eight.

In Iowa there are a few elementary schools, but very few, where the high standards of the Committee of Eight are fairly realized. There are a few teachers, but very few, who have adequately prepared themselves for their work, who see in fair measure the vision which the writers of this report so clearly saw and who are wisely and happily leading equally happy children in the most productive work which the elementary school can do. I must explain, however, that none of these teachers, so far as I know, were properly prepared for their work in normal school or college, for up to the present time no higher institution of learning in the State has set itself the task of preparing real teachers of elementary history. Those to whom I refer have prepared themselves while in service, have caught the spirit from the reports to which I have referred, from books and magazines, from an occasional lecturer, from the children, from the men, and deeds, and lives which go to make up our history. Mostly the teachers of elementary history in Iowa are hearers of lessons. I am almost prepared to say that this subject is more poorly taught than any other in the curriculum. though possibly I should permit physiology to bear the heavier onus. It is poorly taught because the teacher misunderstands her work; she fails to make it a living subject; inadequate texts are placed in the hands of the pupils; and too often a single text comprises the entire resources at the command of the child. In the recitation, the teacher stands before the class with open book and follows, topic by topic, the recitation. Importance is placed upon dates and on the dreary round of battles and campaigns. There is failure to relate the work in hand to any possible vital interest of the children, except the appeal of battle. The child does not realize that his lesson has anything to do with people who ever lived, who were once boys. Lessons are assigned very frequently by The teacher makes no contribution because she has none to make. No man in Iowa has talked with many eighth grade students entering the high school without hearing with characteristic adolescent energy the phrase, "I just hate history", coming from the lips of the rebellious boy or girl who is seeking some way of avoiding this subject in the high school, to which he has been looking for relief from the dreary, spiritless study of the grades below.

Am I hard and bitter in my criticism? If I could, I would banish from my mind the cause of such criticism, the memory of many hours spent in grammar school classrooms, trying to ascertain just why the work of the high school had impressed me as immature, unsatisfactory, and lifeless. I am not speaking of our best schools, but of the composite picture which six years of school visitation has painted in my mind. I could take you to schools where you would sit entranced and inspired as the work in history, geography, and literature, correlated and pulsing with real life, unveils in the minds of the pupils the accomplishment and the purposes of the race.

The high school course in history found in the typical school half a score of years ago included general history in the second year - United States history in the first half of the fourth year, and civics in the second half of the fourth year. Not infrequently civics was offered for a single semester in the first year, and elementary political economy followed the United States history of the fourth year. In the better schools a semester was given to English history, while in the weaker ones United States history was carried through the first year, or rather dragged, for it was invariably the dreariest of text-book work not at all unlike that so commonly found in the grammar school. The texts were usually the ones found throughout this section of the country, as satisfactory no doubt as any at that time published, though in some of the schools, especially bad ones had found lodgment, and not infrequently the Inspector found that the only way to relieve the district of them was to drop the school from the accredited list or to threaten to do so unless the book was at once removed. It need not be added that such texts had been retained in the school not through the recommendation of the teacher or superintendent, but because its retention was profitable to some dealer in books.

The present course, as recommended by the Board on Secondary School Relations and as adopted in a very large number of the schools, is decidedly better. In the larger schools, the four blocks recommended by the Committee of Seven are not infrequently found — two years usually being required, ancient history and that of the United States. In the smaller schools, not able to give extensive electives, the course recommended and usually followed is ancient history in the first or second year, followed by a year of modern European history, usually elective, with emphasis upon the history of England, and this followed by a year of American history and civics or a half-year of each.

Practically all the schools have broken away from the single text idea. Indeed, at the present time, no school can be accredited unless fair library opportunities are pro-The excellent books recommended by associations of history teachers have found their way into most of our schools. In library equipment, no department in the high school has fared better during recent years than the department of history, both in elementary and secondary references. The State is dotted with Carnegie libraries. and there again the influence of librarians and teachers of history and allied subjects has been felt, and the shelves are ordinarily supplied with an excellent assortment of the best things that have been made available for the various grades. Too often there is lack of coordination between the public schools and the city library, but this is the fault of local conditions, and usually the suggestions of the Inspector on his rather infrequent visits will effect closer cooperation.

Here, as in the grades, the teacher must be the largest single element in the success or failure of the course. the Iowa high schools, both accredited and unaccredited (some 500 of them), there are reported for the present year, 126 teachers listed as teachers of history alone; fifteen of these are men and 111 are women. The average salary is \$600.00. While these teachers are reported as having history alone, actual inspection reveals that many have one or two other subjects as well. The combinations of history with other subjects reported are: history and English, seventy-three women and one man; history and mathematics, twenty-seven women and two men: history and Latin, twenty women and two men; history and science, twelve women and one man; history, civics, and economics, seven women and five men; a total of 276 teachers of history or of history and some other single subject. When it is recalled that in every one of the 500 high schools history is taught — there is probably no other subject in Iowa studied by so many different students, except English — it will be concluded that the courses in history are not yet in the hands of specialists.

There are many schools, a very large percentage of the smaller ones, where general history is still taught. In a great many of the unaccredited high schools a single text in general history without any work of a supplementary character is studied for a period of a year and a half. In such cases, the only other history offered is usually that of the United States. Not infrequently the superintendent explains his course in history by saying that his teacher is not sufficiently prepared to make a year of ancient history profitable. There is, moreover, in many localities a deep-seated conviction that the child carries away more valuable ideas from a year devoted to general history than from a corresponding time devoted chiefly to the history of the Greeks and Romans. Naturally the work in such schools consists largely of memorizing an outline to be hated cordially while it is being learned and to be forgotten very successfully as soon as the semester examinations have passed.

Genuine progress is being made, however. General history is giving way rapidly to more adequate study of a briefer period of ancient history with references and contributions on the part of the teacher, followed by modern European or English history, as indicated above. The next ten years should see the courses in history greatly enriched, with teachers much more thoroughly prepared. Meanwhile, institutions devoting themselves to the preparation of high school teachers, as well as those for elementary schools, need to study more definitely the needs of those whom they would serve.

Desiring to know the status of history in other States in the Mississippi Valley, I wrote to the Inspectors of all States immediately surrounding Iowa, inquiring along certain specific lines. Answers were received from most of the Inspectors and while the limits of this paper will not permit their discussion, I may say that the outlook is encouraging. Yet all admit the serious difficulty of securing properly prepared teachers. All deplore the fact that thus far the work in elementary history has not risen to the demand or approached anything like the proper standard. Usually the lack of properly prepared teachers is given as the cause. The Inspector in one of the most progressive, educationally, of the entire group of States, replying to one question, says: "I am not aware that the report of the Committee of Eight has influenced our state. We are, you must remember, on the frontier and little under influence of national movements". Again he says: "The prevailing type of work in history is not effective; teachers fail to secure able topical recitations, or vital connection between the past, the present and the future.

"The work is further weakened, with us, by the fact that many of our students are not well read. They do not even read well. There is much blundering and stammering over proper names with which young folks should be familiar in the home if they are going to make a success at history in the school."

Another Inspector in one of the older States in this section says: "In our better elementary schools — schools that have mature teachers of force and training — the history work is vitalized, interesting and systematic. Indeed, these teachers present the subject as admirably as do the teachers of any other subject. In our smaller places, however, and in many of the larger places without up-to-date teachers, the work in history is stupid, dull and discouraging. Nothing but insignificant and isolated facts are taught, and long lists of dates are usually required to be learned. The work in such places is, to my mind, worse than useless and I fear there is much of such teaching".

In commenting on the high school, this same Inspector adds: "The work in the high school may be described in very much the same terms. That is, I have seen some of the finest work in history in high schools that I have ever seen anywhere, not excepting colleges and universities. Indeed, in many classes, the work surpasses that of the university in interest, real progress, and systematic development. But in a small high school where young untrained teachers are found, the work is too apt to be petty, bookish, and meaningless to the pupils. I am glad to say, however, that there is a steady improvement in history teaching all along the line".

The Inspector in one of the newer States in this section is not in favor of the movement towards the study of ancient instead of general history. Since he anticipates the possibility of the displacement of history or other established subjects by vocational work, I quote: "Only the few pupils who take both ancient and modern history ever get a general view of the world's history. The one-unit course in general history seems, therefore, to be preferable to the two-unit course in ancient and European history. It is preferable also because there is a strong demand for the pupil's time for vocational work. I believe, moreover, that it is worth more to the average high school graduate to know something of the thought and methods of general economics than to have to spend a whole year on the Greeks and Romans, granting that the work in ancient history can be and often is excellent."

It is my belief that the observations made rather at random from the study of the situation in Iowa would be found fairly characteristic of the work in history in this group of States. The greatest question is, after all, not the content of the course but the preparation and ability of the teacher. I would not close this paper with the impression that I am holding the weary, over-burdened teacher responsible for the unfortunate phases of the sit-

uation. Rather must be blamed, first, the organization of education, an organization which permits the appointment of a teacher without due regard to her preparation for the work she has to do; and second, the normal schools, colleges, and universities that in their desire to make creditable showing in advanced courses, in majors and in minors, in research work and in theses, fail to give their students, prospective teachers, an adequate conception of the actual problems which they must face, and fail also to give them that understanding of the child which will enable them to adapt what knowledge they possess to the range and the interests of youth.

But it is not reasonable that we should emphasize blame or responsibility in this matter. Education is forever in its infancy. We are constantly finding in each succeeding generation of children where we have erred and seeing where we may do better. As we catch the broader significance of history and the subjects closely allied to it, as we understand more fully the child, his needs, his capacity, and the demands that shall presently be made upon him, we shall doubtless revise still further our notions of teaching, and look upon the ideals of to-day as the views of men of shortened vision.

#### DISCUSSION

## By B. S. ASQUITH

Mr. Ensign has told us in his very able paper something of his experiences as an Inspector of schools. His remarks have been confined largely to the work done in the teaching of history. It seems to me that he has made the picture a rather dark one. Really, now, is history taught any worse than grammar or arithmetic in the secondary schools? There are, in my mind, many reasons why this subject should be taught much better than either of the subjects named above.

In the first place, history abounds in a never-failing, vital human interest that none of the subjects named can possibly have. Then again the materials are so varied and are capable of such an infinite variety of combinations that an interest will be aroused in spite of even a poor teacher. There is also a chance for constant comparison, and this we know is at the basis of successful teaching. Then there is such a chance for character study to be found in history work, so that dull, indeed, is the person who can not be moved to take an interest in the work.

I do not wish any one to think from anything already said, or yet to be said, that I have a patent method of teaching history or that I am setting my judgment over against that of the able professor who has just preceded me upon the program. As this is a discussion, I may treat my subject very much like the negro preacher who said that he took a subject so that he could get away from it, stay away from it, and never come back to it.

Another reason for the difference of opinion as to history teaching in Iowa may come from the fact that we

have so many different ideas as to what history is. I have tried to follow the various discussions that have been presented at this series of meetings, and I have noted that there have been many different ideas given as to what we mean by the subject of history. I suppose that the future will show us that we are now in the state sometimes called the disagreement of the inquiring, which, let us hope, may develop at length into that other and more satisfactory condition, the unanimity of the wise. But, says one, if you object to the conclusions drawn as to history teaching and the methods used or to be used, pray give us a remedy or as Boss Tweed used to say, "What are you going to do about it?"

Before I outline a few ideas as to history teaching, I wish to remark that it may be discovered at a future time that our best laid plans and methods were, at best, only the scribbling of feeble sentences in the sand.

Proceeding to the discussion of history teaching, I wish to state that I believe that there is no subject taught or studied in the schools to-day that has more solid cultural value than history. This subject is, I believe, basic to all others. I care not what subject the teacher may present, there is an historical phase that lies at the very foundations of the subject. I care not what subject you select, there is an historic element in it. Somewhere, somehow, some way, you will reach a point where you begin to discuss the rise, growth, and development of your subject, and then you are in the field of history. If then it is true that our subject is so far-reaching in its scope, will not its teaching be hedged about with unusual difficulties? I hasten to answer that this very fact gives a chance to the well informed teacher and may serve as just the means needed to change the career of the pupils who are fortunate enough to pursue this subject of subjects, history.

One of the chief attractions in the study of history is

found in the fact that it furnishes food to aid nearly all the other subjects. Years ago a wise old Frenchman is said to have made the statement that "Everything is Everything". Now I suppose that this old educational philosopher had in mind what I have now as to history, Suppose that your subject is English composition and you are to write a paper upon an historic character or upon some great event in history. What better time to write than after the study of that phase of history where your character or event has been studied? With mind enthused and ideals raised by your history, you can sit down and write easily and naturally. You can then write a paper as easily as the bird that swings on yonder spray pours forth the notes that come from his throat because he wants to sing. I might give numberless illustrations of this interrelation of history to other subjects, but time will not allow. The great variety of things offered in history will in the hands of a skillful teacher furnish that which will challenge the best powers of every one.

Reviews, summaries, debates on topics of interest, mock congresses, special topics, current events — these and many other distinct features can be taken up. Add to all this the constant opportunity to inculcate ideals that will last through time and will be transmitted through the lives of your pupils to generations yet unborn. What greater incentives, what greater rewards can any human being want than these? Thus the work of the teacher becomes that of a true builder; and if he is faithful, the building may become as good as that of the Greeks and Romans when they built for their gods those buildings that are yet the wonder of modern times. I care not where you teach, you may go forth with the spirit of the true builder and rear such structures in the lives and hearts of your pupils that some future poet may sing of you in more noble rhymes than those in which one of our poets has sung of these builders in wood and stone:

"In the elder days of art,
Builders wrought with greatest care
Each minute and unseen part,
For the gods see everywhere.
Let us do our work as well,
Both the unseen and the seen,
Make the house where gods may dwell,
Beautiful, entire, and clean."

# PAUL CUFFE AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY

# BY HENRY NOBLE SHERWOOD

[This paper was not read at either of the meetings of the Association.]

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a movement began simultaneously in Europe and America for the exploration and civilization of Africa. It was thought that information about this continent would show conclusively that commerce in its productions would be highly profitable, and would lead to the formation of settlements there by civilized powers. The intercourse of the settlers with the natives would transform them from their rude and unlettered manners of life to the ways of Christian men, an event devoutly to be wished for, since it would prove an effective barrier to the slave-trade. With these objects in view, Denmark, through the efforts of Dr. Ifert, established a colony at Aquapim; and C. B. Wadstrom, an officer in the Swedish government, made plans and investigations on behalf of his country. French activity was exemplified by the researches of M. Le Vaillant, who was in Africa from 1780 to 1785, and by the activity of the organization, Les Amis des Noirs.2 Of all the European nations, however, Great Britain occupied the most prominent place in the work. Numerous English philanthropists were interested in the movement and several societies sprang up to further their plans, among which were the African Institution, the Saint George's Bay Company, which became the Sierra Leone Company

<sup>1</sup> Le Vaillant's Travels (London, 1790), passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pettigrew's Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Late John Coakly Lettsom (London, 1817), Vol. II, p. 538.

upon its incorporation by the English government in 1791, and the British African Colonization Society. Several settlements were formed on the west coast of Africa. laying the foundation of the present Sierra Leone. The cause was espoused in America by Samuel D. Hopkins. pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode Island, and the author of that peculiar system of theology known as Hopkinsianism; by Ezra Stiles, sometime president of Yale; by William Thornton, who is best known as the versatile but erratic head of the Patent Office; and by many others. The movement culminated in the formation of the American Colonization Society, with its numerous auxiliaries in almost all the States and cities. Among the negroes in America, a hitherto unknown but wonderfully interesting man, Paul Cuffe, took an active part, contributing so generously of his means, talent, and information that he may justly be called a philanthropist.

In the effort to rise above environment and reach greater fields of activity few have been so unavoidably handicapped as Mr. Cuffe, and a still smaller number have shown such perseverance in the endeavor. Dogged persistency, his unfailing attribute, "energy of mind that was equal to the noblest enterprise, and the benevolence of a heart singularly devoted to doing good" so dominated his life that from obscurity, ignorance, and penury he rose to affluence, respectability, and distinction.

To begin with, his parents could give him nothing except his being, and with it, the countenance of a negro and the form of an Indian. The former, he inherited from his father, who was brought to this country as an African slave and was purchased by a citizen of Massachusetts

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The author has adopted with considerable hesitancy the spelling "Cuffe". The usual orthography is "Cuffe". But since in his will and printed letters the form "Cuffe" is used, it is here considered the authentic one.

Spring's Memoir of Samuel J. Mills (Boston and New York, 1829), p. 122.

named Slocum, in whose service he spent a goodly number of years when he purchased his liberty; the latter, he inherited from his mother, whose maiden name was Ruth Moses and who belonged to a tribe of Indians then living in that State and, to judge from her name, may have been a descendant of some of John Eliot's "praying Indians". To the union of this negro and Indian ten children were born, four boys and six daughters, and in the course of time the boys were all married except Paul, the youngest. They had homes in the neighborhood of Westport, Massachusetts, worked as farmers, and educated their children. Four of the daughters had likewise married; and it came about that, when the prolific negro died in 1773, the care of the widow and the two unmarried sisters devolved upon Paul, who was now forced to apply himself to activities whose pursuit would yield financial returns.

This negro-Indian, born in 1759, was now in his fifteenth year, and lived at the place of his birth on Cuttyhunk, one of the Elizabeth Islands off the southeastern coast of Massachusetts. He was at just the age when the invitation of the sea and the promise of rich returns drawn from its great store-house appeal to one intensely. So applying the knowledge that comes from being reared near the sea, he took part in a whaling expedition, and later made a voyage to the West Indies. The Revolutionary War had broken out by this time, and a third voyage culminated in his capture by the British, followed by a three months' imprisonment in New York City. Upon his release he returned home and engaged in agricultural pursuits until 1779, when he deemed the war-times sufficiently propitious to undertake further trading expeditions, limited, however, to the neighboring islands and Connecticut. He was now twenty, tall, portly, and dignified, and he threw his whole soul into the work. On the first voyage into this region he was accompanied by his brother, who grew faint-hearted from fear of the rough sea and pirates, so that Paul was compelled to turn back. Four more attempts were made, sometimes aided by his neighbors, sometimes on his own means. But the refugee pirates were so troublesome that it was extremely difficut to make a successful venture, although the fifth voyage, made to the island of Nantucket, yielded him a profitable remuneration.

This was the turning point in Cuffe's business adventures: hereafter they netted him large profits. The War was over and the new government was in operation - two events which rendered his business safer and more promising. Not only were the times more favorable but the abilities of Cuffe himself were improved, for he had diligently studied books dealing with the art of navigation; so with the observations of his previous experience, he was able to command his own ships. Having moved to the mainland and occupied a rented house on the Westport River, he made a voyage to Saint George for codfish, which a contemporary regards as having laid the foundation of the fishing industry in that river. In 1793, having made a successful whaling expedition to the Strait of Belle Isle, he took a cargo of oil and bone to Philadelphia and exchanged it for iron with which he laid the keel of the Ranger, a sixty-nine ton vessel launched in 1795. Perhaps his most successful investment was in Maryland corn. With a cargo valued at \$2,000, he sailed for Norfolk on the Chesapeake where he learned of the corn. At Vienna, on the Nanticoke River, he purchased several thousand bushels of corn, which he transported to Westport and sold. With the profits of this venture, he purchased in 1797 a \$3,500 farm on the west shore of the Westport River, a short distance below Hix's Bridge, and on it erected a wharf and a store-house. He preferred to do business for himself, but sometimes he freighted goods for others, as when he carried a plaster of Paris for

<sup>5</sup> Memoir of Paul Cuffe (York, 1812), p. 13.

James Brian from Passamaquoddy to Wilmington, Delaware. As time went on he added to the number of the ships which he owned wholly or in part. The Alpha, which made a voyage to Wilmington, thence to Liverpool, Gottenburg, and finally to Philadelphia, was a two hundred and sixty-eight ton vessel built in 1806, a three-fourths interest in which was his. He had a half interest in a brig of one hundred and sixty-two tons burden built in 1800; also a hundred and nine ton vessel, the Traveller, in which he made his remarkable trip to Sierra Leone and Liverpool. This is the only ship for which provision is made in his will.

Captain Cuffe had by this time slightly passed middle age and had accumulated considerable means; instead of a small open boat, trading with the neighboring towns and settlements, he had obtained a good sized "schooner. In this vessel he enlarged the scope of his action; trading to more distant places, and in articles requiring larger capital; and, thus, in the process of time, he became owner of one brig, afterwards of two, then he added a ship, and so on until 1806, at which time he was possessed of one ship, two brigs, and several smaller vessels, besides considerable property in houses and lands."

He had not, however, given his undivided attention to financial interests, but had improved his intellect and provided for the education of his own children and the children of his neighbors. When his father died in 1773, Paul scarcely knew a letter of the alphabet, but so assiduously did he apply himself, occasionally under the direction of a tutor, but usually self-directed, that in ten years he could not only read and write and figure, but had learned considerable of the art of navigation — enough indeed to build and command sea-going vessels and to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The will was made on April 4, 1817. It is in the Probate Court of Taunton, Massachusetts.

<sup>7</sup> Williams's Discourse on the Death of Paul Cuffe, delivered before the New York African Institution, October 21, 1817.

teach others this art. It was Cuffe who took the initiative in providing educational facilities for the neighborhood. It had neither school-house nor teacher, and he suggested that the inhabitants have a public meeting to amend this situation. Accordingly, in 1797 they met, but opinions were so varied that nothing was agreed upon. Subsequent meetings were likewise unfruitful. The upshot of the whole thing was that Cuffe at his own expense built a school-house on his farm and invited the neighbors to use it.

Thus Paul Cuffe overcame his poverty and his ignorance; he was no less successful in overcoming the prejudice against his color and the political restrictions on his race in his State. When he sailed to Maryland in 1795 people there, having in mind perhaps the negro rebellion in New York in 1741, or the St. Domingo revolution of 1791, and sharing the notion common among the slave-holders that the presence of free blacks was detrimental to the behavior of slaves, feared that this moderately dark sea captain might instigate a rebellion among their people of color. So correct was the deportment of Captain Cuffe on this occasion that he found favor in the sight of the people, and before the cargo sailed away he accepted an invitation to dine with some of the most respected families of Vienna.8 In this connection it is interesting to note a statement made by Robert G. Harper in a letter to Elias B. Caldwell, then Secretary of the American Colonization Society and Clerk of the United States Supreme Court, under date of August 20, 1817, in which he says:

"I may safely assert that Paul Cuffe, respectable, intelligent, and wealthy as he is has no expectation or chance of ever being invited to dine with any gentleman in Boston; of marrying his daughter, whatever may be her for-

<sup>8</sup> Memoir of Paul Cuffe (York, 1812), p. 18.

tune or education, to one of their sons; or of seeing his son obtain a wife among their daughters."

Cuffe never troubled himself about social equality. It is safe to state that Mr. Harper's observations about his expectations were true; he took a wife when he was twenty-five from the same tribe of Indians to which his mother belonged; but as to political equality Cuffe assumed a different attitude.

He had trouble in Massachusetts because he believed that the payment of taxes and the rights of citizenship were reciprocally related. If one paid taxes he should have a right to vote and hold office, said Captain Cuffe. When the tax-collector came around, in conjunction with his brother John he refused to pay his personal tax, since the free black at that time could not vote nor hold office in Massachusetts. The collector had recourse to the courts: Cuffe resorted to the arts of delay and vexation which are used to silence suits. Soon, however, he acquiesced, paid the assessment, and instead of defiance to the law chose the right of petition. When the petition came up before the General Court of the Bay State there was a difference of opinion but "A considerable majoraty were, however, favorable to the object; they perceived the propriety and justice of the petition, and with an honorable magnanimity, in defiance of the prejudice of the times, they passed a law, rendering all free persons of color liable to taxation, according to the rates established by white men, and granting them all the privileges belonging to other citizens." 10

Peter Williams, Jr., speaking on the death of Cuffe in 1817, grew enthusiastic at this point in his career and said:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> First Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color in the United States, p. 15. Since this Society soon became the American Colonization Society, it will hereafter be referred to by the latter title.

<sup>10</sup> Memoir of Paul Cuffe (York, 1812), p. 9.

For this triumph of justice and humanity over prejudice and oppression not only the colored people of Massachusetts, but every advocate of correct principle owes a tribute of respect and gratitude to John and Paul Cuffe.<sup>11</sup>

Although these quotations are from contemporaries, an examination of the statutes of Massachusetts has failed to confirm the assertion that legislation was enacted giving the free negro the elective franchise. The petition was dated February 10, 1780, and it appears that John Cuffe was the leading signer of the "several poor negroes and mulattoes." The petitioners emphasized the desire for relief from taxation more than their right to vote, stating that they would be reduced to a "state of beggary, whereby we shall become a burthen to others, if not timely prevented by the interposition of your justice and power," although they felt aggrieved because they were not allowed the privileges of freemen of the State. The fact that another copy of the petition is dated January 22, 1781, indicated that the previous one was not acted on favorably and that the negroes meant to renew their petition. These colored people resisted the payment of taxes in their own county, and it appears by the town records of Dartmouth that under the date of April 22, 1781, they applied to the selectmen of the town "to put a stroke in their next warrant for calling a town meeting. so that it may legally be laid before said town, whether all free negroes and mulattoes shall have the same privilege in this said town of Darthmouth as the white people have, respecting places of profit, choosing of officers, and the like, together with all other privileges in all cases that shall or may happen or be brought in this our said town of Darthmouth."

The rejected Constitution of 1778 had prohibited negroes and mulattoes from exercising the ballot. The Constitution adopted in 1780, however, contained a clause

<sup>11</sup> Williams's Funeral Sermon.

in the Bill of Rights, on which the judicial decree of 1783 was based, declaring slavery illegal in Massachusetts. It may be that the contemporaries had this in mind when they spoke of negro legislation in 1780. However, the petition indicates that the free negro was not allowed to vote as late as 1781. At any rate Paul Cuffe was interested and active in this movement for negro suffrage. He was also active in the cause of abolition, and it may be that the petition of 1777 sent by a number of Africans to the General Court was prompted by his exertions. This petition the legislators ordered transmitted to the Congress of the Confederation, accompanied by a letter in which they asked for advice from this body, since the majority of the sister States had not abolished the institution, and might not consider independent action proper on a question so influential in its motive and operation.12

Paul Cuffe was not a one-sided man. Active in the pursuit of business which yielded him an estate worth almost twenty thousand dollars, <sup>13</sup> eager for the education of himself and his neighbors, solicitous for the welfare of all the people of color in his State, he did not neglect the spiritual and philanthropic side of his life. In religion he was a Quaker, which was the religion of his parents. He held his membership with the local congregation at Westport, to whom he bequeathed fifty dollars. He preached occasionally, and was an intimate friend of William Rotch, Sr. <sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The petitions referred to above are in Moore's Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts (New York, 1866), pp. 197-199, with the exception of the petition of 1777, which is mentioned in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1st Series, Vol. X, pp. 332, 333. For a contrary view regarding the use of the ballot by the free negro, see Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1st Series, Vol. III, p. 207; Vol. VI, p. 93.

<sup>13</sup> The inventory of his estate, on file in the Probate Court of Bristol County, Massachusetts, shows real estate to the value of \$4,119.11, and personal property to the value of \$14,022.57.—Letter from Enos D. Williams to the author.

<sup>14</sup> Ricketson's History of New Bedford (New Bedford, 1858), Ch. XX. He appointed William Rotch, Jr., one of the executors of his will.

Friend Cuffe was exceedingly anxious to help the free blacks in America improve themselves and increase their usefulness, and was highly concerned in aiding the civilization of the native Africans themselves.

Long had his bowels yearned over their degraded, destitute, miserable condition. He saw, it is true, many benevolent men engaged in releasing them from their bondage, and pouring into their minds the light of literature and religion, but he saw also the force of prejudice operating so powerfully against them, as to give but little encouragement to hope, that they could ever rise to respectability and usefulness, unless it was in a state of society, where they would have greater incentives to improvement, and more favorable opportunities than would probably be ever offered them where the bulk of the population were white.

Under this impression, he turned his thoughts to the British settlement of Sierra Leone. 15

He felt sufficiently able to make a visit to this settlement in 1811, and in his *Brief Account of the Settlement and Present Situation of the Colony of Sierra Leone*, written to his friend in New York and published there in 1812, he says:

Having been informed that there was a settlement of people of color at Sierra Leone under the immediate guardianship of a civilized power, I have for these years past felt a lively interest in their behalf, wishing that the inhabitants of the colony might become established in the truth, and thereby instrumental in its promotion amongst our African brethren. It was these sentiments that first influenced me to visit my friends in this colony.

The civilization of Africa was not a new theme, as a short sketch of the Colony of Sierra Leone will evince. The last quarter of the eighteenth century found the nations of Europe exploring Africa with a view to settlement for the purpose of commerce, or for commerce and the extension of the principles of humanity. It was pointed out by the Quakers that "Africa, so populous,

<sup>15</sup> Williams's Funeral Sermon.

and so rich in vegetable and mineral productions, instead of affording all the advantages of a well regulated commerce, is scarcely known but as a mart for slaves, and as the scene of violent barbarities, perpetrated in order to secure them, by men professing the Christian religion." 16

Both private and public enterprise was directed to the amelioration of these conditions. Among individuals, Dr. Henry Smeathman, 17 an Englishman, stands first. Meeting with business misfortune at home he was glad to have an opportunity to make scientific observations in Africa, and collect specimens of the productions there under the direction of Dr. John Fothergill; and after the latter's death to persevere in this work as best he could. He spent four years on the west coast of Africa, where he died, leaving two widows, each a princess in a royal African house. While there he made the first 18 suggestion of forming a settlement of liberated slaves in Africa, hoping thereby to promote the civilization of the continent, to substitute the products of the soil for the diabolical commerce in human beings, and to relieve, if not give liberty to, the slaves in the West Indies and Am-In common with most projectors his only lack was funds. The Quakers, who were in sympathy with the

<sup>16</sup> The Case of our Fellow Creatures, the Oppressed Africans, respectfully recommended to the serious consideration of the Legislature of Great Britain, London, 1784.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> His plan for colonizing Africa is in Wadstrom's Essay on Colonization (London, 1794), pp. 198-210; also Part II, pp. 3-6.

<sup>18</sup> It is interesting to observe that the King of Dahomy, an African chief, sent in 1726 Bulfinch Lambe, a captured servant of the English African Company, to the court of Saint James to propose the establishment of a colony of Britons in his dominions. Lambe, the first white man whom the chief had ever seen, never returned, and the negro Tom, whom the King sent with Lambe, to see if his report of England was true, he sold into slavery. Learning several years later that the African King still desired his return, Lambe, in 1731, redeemed Tom, and presented him to George II, as "His Excellency Adomo Oroonoko Tomo, Ambassador from His Majesty Trudo Andati, King of Dahomy, Ardrah and Whidah." It is needless to say that the credentials of "His Excellency" were not accepted by the British Court. — Wadstrom's Appendix, p. 217.

general outlines of the movement, would have supplied him, had he not recommended that the colonists bring fire-arms to the settlement. Not dismayed, he went to Paris and applied his inventive genius to the improvement of air balloons, hoping to secure a large fund from the proceeds of his discoveries. In this effort he failed, and ultimately aid came from the British government and English philanthropists who were in hearty accord with his recommendations; among these were John Coakley Lettsom and especially Granville Sharpe, the soul of the Somerset decision of 1772. Soon the preliminaries were over and the first colony sailed from London harbor for Africa in 1787, composed of both whites and blacks.

The Somerset decision threw many negroes on the public charge; many flocked around Granville Sharpe and were dubbed "Granvilles".19 Moreover, many of the negroes who had sought refuge on British ships or had repaired to the British standards during the American Revolution were brought to London following the peace of 1783, and these "Having been indigent, unemployed, despised and forlorn, soon added to the vices of common soldiers, and sailors, those of the numerous beggars who, notwithstanding the prodigious sum levied for maintaining the poor, disgrace the police" 20 of London. The projected settlement on the west coast of Africa offered a convenient outlet for this population and the embarkation of the first emigrants began in December, 1786. There were many delays, chief of which was the redemption of pawned clothing and personal effects of the negroes by Sharpe, since they refused to sail without their complete wardrobe; but finally four hundred embarked, to which were added three score whites, mostly women of damaged reputation and in ill health. They sailed on April 9, 1787, with the full sympathy of the British government,

<sup>19</sup> Hamilton's The Colonization of Africa, p. 107.

<sup>20</sup> Wadstrom's Appendix, p. 220.

which was glad to have a supply station for its vessels bound to and from India.21 They constituted the first contingent of the African missionary army. A different conception of negro missionaries was held by an American writer, who, referring to the report that Great Britain was sending 7,000 black troops from Africa to invade the Southern States during the War of 1812, says: "We beseech our Southern countrymen to look well to it and be ready to exterminate this legion of missionaries of the Devil so soon as they shall attempt to gain a foothold on our soil." 22 The excesses committed en route by this mixed body of colonists and subsequent disorders caused the directors of the Sierra Leone Company to examine carefully the character of future colonists — a resolution which was carried out when the Nova Scotia blacks were brought over in 1792.

The projectors of the Sierra Leone settlement needed more colonists than were available in England and seized the opportunity to obtain some from Nova Scotia. They were black American lovalists who had served in the British army under promise of their freedom, and when the War was over, the British government took them to Nova Scotia where they were to receive lands. There were white lovalists in the island, too, who tried to make slaves of them, deprived them of their houses and cleared lands, and finally removed them to an inhospitable part of the country far from market. Ill treated by the local authorities, denied the privileges of British subjects, especially trial by jury, and suffering under the rigorous climate, they sent Thomas Peters, who had been a sergeant in the service of Sir Henry Clinton, to present their complaints to the British Court.23 The Government

<sup>21</sup> J. Ormond Wilson in the 77th Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 15.

<sup>22</sup> National Intelligencer, January 21, 1815.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> ExGovernor Archibald in the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. VII, p. 135.

agreed to pay the expense of their transportation to Africa, and sent Lieutenant Clarkson of the Royal Navy to Nova Scotia, who with Lawrence Hartshorn of Halifax superintended the embarkation. Sixteen vessels flying the Union Jack arrived in Sierra Leone in March, 1795, with eleven hundred and thirty-one black colonists.<sup>24</sup>

The Colony was further augmented in 1800 by five hundred and fifty Jamaica Maroons. The Maroons of this island had been hostile to the English from the very beginning of their rule, and after a century and a half of hostility during which they lived in semi-independence in the mountainous districts, they, induced by the terror of blood-hounds and the promise that they would not be deported from the island, laid down their arms. The English did not keep their promise, however, but sent them to Nova Scotia where they proved such a terror that fifty police were constantly employed to keep them in order. Finally they were removed to the west coast of Africa by the Sierra Leone Company.

Negroes rescued from slave-traders, called "Willy-foss" negroes because they owed their freedom largely to Wilberforce, were also sent to Sierra Leone. The settlement suffered many ups and downs in its early history, including a bombardment by the French in 1794, but in spite of the annoyance of slave-traders, hostile natives, and the unsalubrious climate, when Paul Cuffe arrived there in 1811 he found a respectable and promising Colony.

He made the voyage in the *Traveller* with a crew of eight men and an apprentice boy — all colored and singularly proficient in both the science and practice of nav-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Hoare's Memoir of Granville Sharpe, Vol. II, pp. 26-28; also Substance of the Report . . . of Sierra Leone Company to the General Court of Proprietors, March 27, 1794, in Wadstrom, Part II, pp. 28-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Higginson's *Travellers and Outlaws*, pp. 116-149, has a popular account of the experience of the Maroons. A bibliography appears on pp. 329, 330.

igation.<sup>26</sup> Captain Cuffe was in Sierra Leone about two months, observing conditions, making recommendations, and obtaining information for his *Brief Account* of the Colony. He formed while there "The Friendly Society of Sierra Leone", and gave it goods in order to encourage it in the way of trade. The advice which he gave this Society and the other citizens is significant in the index it gives to the moral fiber of the man and his influence for good.

Grace be unto you and peace be multiplied from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath begotten a lively hope in remembrance of you; and for which I desire ever to be humbled, world without end, amen.

Dearly beloved friends and fellowcountrymen,

I earnestly recommend to you the propriety of assembling yourselves together for the purpose of worshiping the Lord your God. God is a spirit and they who worship him acceptably must worship him in spirit and in truth; in so doing you will find a living hope which will be as an anchor to the soul and a support under afflictions. In this hope may Ethiopia stretch out her hand unto God. Come, my African brethren and fellowcountrymen, let us walk together in the light of the Lord. That pure light which bringeth salvation into the world, hath appeared unto all men to profit withall. I would recommend unto all the saints, and elders and sober people of the colony, that you adopt the mode of meeting together once every month in order to consult with each other for your mutual good. But above all things let your meetings be owed of the Lord, for he hath told us that "where two or three are gathered together in his name, there will he be in the midst of them." And I would recommend that you keep a record of your proceedings at those meetings in order that they be left for the benefit of the young and rising generation. In these meetings let it be your care to promote all good and laudable institutions, and by so doing you will increase both your temporal and spiritual welfare.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Seventh Report of the Directors of the African Institution, March 26, 1813, in the Edinburg Review, Vol. XXI, p. 472.

the Prince of Peace may be your preserver, is the sincere desire of one who wishes well to all mankind.

The following advice though detached from the foregoing address appears to be intended to accompany it:

First. That sobriety and steadfastness, with all faithfulness, be recommended, that so professors may be good examples in all things; doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly.

Secondly. That early care be extended towards the youth, whilst their minds are young and tender, that so they may be redeemed from the corruptions of the world—such as nature is prone to—not swearing, following bad company, and drinking of spiritous liquors. That they may be kept out of idleness, and encouraged to be industrious, for this is good to cultivate the mind, and may you be good examples therein yourselves.

Thirdly. May servants be encouraged to discharge their duties with faithfulness; may they be brought up to industry; may their minds be cultivated for the reception of the good seed, which is promised to all that will seek after it. I want that we should be faithful in all things, that so we may become a people, giving satisfaction to those, who have borne the heat and burden of the day, in liberating us from a state of slavery. I must leave you in the hands of Him who is able to preserve you through time, and to crown you with that blessing that is prepared for all those who are faithful unto death.<sup>27</sup>

While Friend Cuffe was in Sierra Leone he received an invitation from the African Institution to visit England, which he accepted, carrying a cargo of African products to the English market. This institution was a British organization whose object was to adopt and promote measures to civilize and make happy the Africans. It sought to obtain all the information possible regarding the country and its people, and to divert the slave-trader's energy from this traffic in human beings to the channel of commendable industry.<sup>28</sup> Cuffe left his nephew, Thomas

<sup>27</sup> Cuffe's Account of Sierra Leone, pp. 8, 9.

<sup>28</sup> Eclectic Review, July, 1810, pp. 642, 643.

Wainer, at Sierra Leone to instruct the Colony in the methods of agriculture, and took one of the natives, Aaron Richards, along in order to educate him in the art of navigation. The arrival of the ship is chronicled by a contemporary as follows:

On the first of the present month of August, a vessel arrived at Liverpool with a cargo from Sierra Leone, the owner, master, mate, and whole crew were free negroes. The master, who is also the owner, is the son of an African slave; and is said to be very well skilled both in trade and navigation, as well as to be of very pious and moral character. It must have been a strange and animating spectacle to see this free and enlightened African entering, as an independent trader, with his black crew, into that port which was so lately the *nidus* of the slave trade.<sup>29</sup>

The cargo was consigned to W. & R. Rathborne. Cuffe was most favorably received, and both he and his crew attracted universal respect. Although it was vacation time, the African Institution called a special meeting of its board in order that it might see and confer with Captain Cuffe.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, attended, as he always does, at the board, and, together with the other directors entered fully into the subject, alike interesting to those distinguished philanthropists, and to their dark colored but civilized ally.<sup>30</sup>

Cuffe had "several interviews with the directors and other friends of African civilization, in order to ascertain in what way he could best contribute to the improvement of his countrymen. . . . His information was very material and his conversation left the most favorable impression of his intelligence and integrity on all who knew or saw him. The directors have taken the proper steps to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Fifth Report of the Directors of the African Institution, in the Edinburg Review, March 27, 1811, Vol. XVIII, p. 321.

<sup>30</sup> Seventh Report of the Directors of the African Institution, in the Edinburg Review, Vol. XXI, p. 473.

profit by his communications, and by his important assistance in the prosecution of their great work." 31

Cuffe left Liverpool on the 20th of September, 1811, after making His Highness the Duke a present of some articles of African manufacture, which the Duke acknowledged in a personal letter. He and his crew had been so favorably impressed both with Sierra Leone and the mother country that application was made for land in the Colony, but the strained relations between the United States and Great Britain, which soon developed into actual hostilities, unhappily prevented favorable action on it, which was a great disappointment to the African Institution, for it had "the very judicious plan of profiting by the opportunity of inducing Captain Cuffe to settle in Sierra Leone, and carry over with him free blacks of good character and of some property, who might settle in the colony, and practicing among the natives the mechanical arts, and the cultivation of tropical produce." 32 The failure to procure lands did not discourage Cuffe in the least; he retained his zeal and sailed away with the great object of African civilization before him.

He returned to America by way of Sierra Leone in order to take back Richards, who had completed his first course in the study of navigation, and to pick up Wainer. Moreover, he delivered a consignment of goods to the Friendly Society. According to Cuffe's Brief Account the Colony had made remarkable progress in the cultivation of the soil and in institutional life. The climate was salubrious; the soil fertile and highly productive; the population was about 2,500. There were seven or eight schools; one entirely for adults; the others for children, and having about two hundred and thirty under instruction. There were six places for worship in the Colony,

<sup>31</sup> Sixth Report of the Directors of the African Institution, in the Edinburg Review, Vol. XXI, p. 78.

<sup>32</sup> Seventh Report of the Directors of the African Institution, in the Edinburg Review, Vol. XXI, p. 472.

besides a society for carrying on Christian work. The churches held two meetings daily and on Sunday four—all "generally well attended." The colonists had instituted five courts with different functions and nomenclature, including a court of vice-admiralty. Cuffe traveled in the interior and found as varied conditions as there were tribes; some practicing circumcision and schooled in the Arabic education; some ignorant of almost everything but war; all enjoying the slave trade. Hoping to convince one tribe of the impropriety of its pernicious practices, Cuffe gave its king a "Testament and several other books, and let him know by the interpreter the useful records contained therein, and the great fountain they pointed to."

Soon after his arrival in America he sought to find the type of emigrants desired by the African Institution. He visited some of the larger cities, and in New York and Philadelphia formed two societies, whose purpose was to promote the benevolent work in which he was engaged. In this activity he communicated with the most respected men of color, and with those whites who were friends of the Africans. This took considerable time, and when it was accomplished it was too late to sail with the black agriculturists and mechanics, for the War of 1812 was in progress.

Paul Cuffe had early in his life learned the importance of overcoming difficulties, and he resolved if it were in his power not to allow the War between Great Britain and the United States to thwart his schemes for the amelioration of his race. Accordingly, he went to Washington, and there presented through his Congressman a memorial <sup>33</sup> to Congress, in which he asked permission to transport to Sierra Leone, if Great Britain was willing, a number of colored people with provisions, implements of

<sup>\*\*</sup> Annals of Congress, 13th Congress, 2nd session, Vol. I, pp. 861-863; National Intelligencer for January 11, 1814, printed the memorial at the request of its subscribers.

husbandry, and machinery, and to import some of the productions of that country. He hoped that the importations would yield him a profit, and thus reduce the expenses of the voyage. The memorial further stated that "he could but view the practices of his brethren of the African race in selling their fellow creatures into a state of slavery for life as very inconsistent with that divine principle" of equity and justice, and that he "conceived it a duty incumbent upon him as a faithful steward of the mercies he had received, to give a portion of his time and his property in visiting that country, and offering such means as might be in his power to promote the improvement and civilization of the Africans. . . . his recommendations were approved by the celebrated philanthropists, the Duke of Gloucester, Wm. Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, Wm. Allen, and others, and . . . . the [African] institution have so far acceded to his plans as to make some special provision to carry them into effect. One of these was to keep up an intercourse with the free people of color in the United States, in the expectation that persons of reputation would feel sufficiently interested to visit Africa and endeavor to promote habits of industry, sobriety and frugality, among the natives of that country."

The memorialist also states that he had communications with the free blacks of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, and that several families, who would be of great service, had concluded to go. The memorial bears the date, "6th month 1813". On January 31, 1814, it was acted upon favorably by the Senate, but it did not fare so well in the House. It was referred to the Committee of Commerce and Manufacturing and was reported on adversely for the reason that it would be impolitic to relax the trade prohibitions "on the application of an individual, for the purpose which, how benevolently soever conceived, cannot be considered in any other light than as speculative — the effort heretofore made and di-

rected by the Sierra Leone Company having failed to accomplish the object designed by its institution." The House recognized the unimpeachable character of the memorialist, and remarked that the granting of the request would invite the emigration of the free blacks, a population the country could well spare, but it realized that the vessel could sail only under British license, which would be granted only if advantageous to the enemy; so the request was accordingly rejected by a vote of 65 to 72.

There was only one thing for Cuffe to do and that was to wait until the War was over. This he did, and in December, 1815, he sailed from Boston to the west coast of Africa, choosing to arrive there about Christmas. The particulars are best told by this unassuming and matter-of-fact man:

Thirty-eight in number went out with me, their expenses were estimated at one hundred dollars per head, but were there a large number they could be carried out for sixty dollars. The expense of thirty of the above number was borne by Paul Cuffe, the others paid their own passages. In addition to the above expense, I furnished them provisions to the amount of 150£ 8s 3d sterling; all this was done without fee or reward — my hope is in a coming day.<sup>35</sup>

He was just fifty-five days in making the voyage. The colonists were presented to the Governor, who received them kindly, and granted them lands. When Cuffe began preparations to return to the States, "it was like a father taking leave of his children". The citizens of Sierra Leone requested him to begin a settlement at Sherbro, and the African Institution again took occasion to profit by the experience of their "dark-colored but civ-

<sup>34</sup> Annals of Congress, 13th Congress, 2nd session, Vol. I, p. 1195.

<sup>35</sup> Second Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 122. The Western Courier (Louisville, Kentucky) for October 26, 1815, evidently copying from an eastern paper, said that Captain Paul Cuffe's brig was in Philadelphia, where it would receive two families; it would procede to New Bedford, take on the remainder, and then sail for Africa.

<sup>36</sup> History of Prince Le Boo (Dublin, 1822), p. 165.

ilized ally", who suggested that a house be built on the farm of each settler brought over.

The settlers taken over by Cuffe were born and brought up in different parts of the United States and were pretty well acquainted with the situation of their brethren here. In consideration of the restrictions they had formerly experienced, and the prejudice manifested against them in so many ways, it would seem that they would welcome the privilege of exercising political rights. There was one exception, however, Perry Locke, who on the 25th of March received the following citation:

Mr. Perry Locke. You are hereby summoned and required to appear at the ensuing general session of the peace, which will be held at the court hall in Freetown, on Wednesday, the 10th day of April, at the hour of ten in the afternoon, there to serve as a grand juror; herein fail not, at your peril. W. D. Grant, Sheriff.<sup>37</sup>

Mr. Locke made great complaint to Cuffe because of this summons. Cuffe told him that "He complained in America because he was deprived of these privileges; and then he murmured because he was called upon: Go and fill thy seat, do as well as thou canst." 38

The report that Paul Cuffe had taken some free colored persons to Africa was widely disseminated in America, and it was emphasized that the negroes had equal rights there. Many more wished to go over; Cuffe writes that in 1816 he had so many applications that he believed he might have colonized the greater part of Boston and vicinity.<sup>39</sup> He never made another trip to Sierra Leone;

<sup>37</sup> Second Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, pp. 121, 122.

<sup>38</sup> Second Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Second Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 121. Elias B. Caldwell reports that Cuffe said that he could have taken 2,000. First Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 5. William Thornton, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, sought emigrants in the New England States, and met with a ready response. Thornton had in mind to conduct them personally to Africa.

the following winter he was unable to secure a favorable commercial arrangement, and in 1817 his preparations were cut short by the hand of death. Concerning a voyage in 1816, he writes:

I do not expect to send a vessel to Africa this ensuing winter, when I went last to Africa I was somewhat disappointed, in not having a special license from the British government.

My correspondent, William Allen, of London, a member of the London African Institution, wrote me to come to London, and engage with them, and keep open a communication between England and Africa. If we could open a circular route from Africa to England, and thence to America, I felt disposed to be made use of in any way that appeared most advantageous; I have not had any return.<sup>40</sup>

It was the wish of Cuffe that the African Institutions. which he established at New York and Philadelphia, continue the work that he had begun. He believed that these societies would be heard when an individual might fail. It is significant that these societies were organized before the American Colonization Society. In the former we see the efforts of the people of color trying to solve the slavery question; in the latter we see the efforts of the whites. The man of color had shown the way. Cuffe was an ardent advocate of African colonization. By it he hoped to see those held in bondage and degradation in Christian countries returned to the land of their ancestors, where they might carry with them the light of civilization and Christianity. In this way the "peculiar institution" would be converted into a blessing and Africa would be speedily regenerated. It is interesting to follow out the activities which Cuffe set in motion.

The blacks whom he had taken to Africa wrote to their friends in America urging them to come to their native home. Perry Locke, having become reconciled to his new duties, exhorted his "Dearly Beloved Brethren"

<sup>40</sup> Second Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 120.

in America to come to the "land of Canan, abounding in honey and fruits, fish and oysters, wild fowls and wild hogs. The only thing that Africa wants is the knowledge of God . . . . fear not to come, if the Lord will. When you come I hope to be with you, and more besides me, . . . let this be printed if you please." 41

Another passenger of Cuffe was Samuel Wilson, and in his general letter to the American blacks he concludes as follows: "Sir, when I set my foot on the African shore, I had only seven and six pence sterling; now, notwithstanding all my sickness, I am master of a hundred pounds sterling. I think if I had had something to have begun with, I should have had about four or five thousand." 42

Another letter from Africa was signed by a number of Cuffe's passengers, and like the rest was written in May, 1818, to the American negroes. In part it says:

Be not fearful to come to Africa, which is your country by right. If any of you think it not proper to come, and say it is well with you, you must remember your brethren who are yet in slavery. They must be set free as yourselves. . How shall they be set free, if not by your good behavior and by coming to get a place ready to receive them? Though you are free, that is not your country. Africa, not America, is your country and your home. Africa is a good country. You will have no trouble to raise your children when all things are plenty: you will have no want of warm clothing: you will have no need of firewood, for we have it in abundance; and here you will be looked upon like the blessed creatures of the Almighty God, and that bad opinion and contempt which our white brethren harbor, will be quite done away, and the whole of us will become a large and wonderful nation. We will forget all our former troubles when we turn to the land from which our forefathers came. whole of you will have your own lands and houses; when you cultivate the land. (in which a few horses would be an assistance)

<sup>41</sup> Second Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 151.

<sup>42</sup> Second Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 150.

you will be supplied with yams, cassada, plantains, fowls, wild-hogs, deer, ducks, goats, sheep, cattle, fish in abundance, and many other articles, good running water, large oysters.<sup>43</sup>

It is obvious that these letters, portraying Africa as the Canaan of material happiness where all enjoyed social and political equality, and where there was a great missionary work to be done, would create a profound desire on the part of many to remove across the water. Even the "many other articles" loomed up in inviting heaps. It is highly interesting, too, that colonization was considered the proper solution of slavery. The colored people were not all agreed in this particular. Peter Williams, in his funeral oration, urged the blacks to give it a fair trial before they pronounced against it. He considered that the high standing of its author was sufficient to give it a recommendation. His very remarks, however, indicate that there was disapproval of the scheme. This is again observed, after the formation of the American Colonization Society, and in one of the cities where Cuffe established an African Institution. The disapproval was so pronounced here that Robert Finley, one of the founders of the American Colonization Society, came to Philadelphia, the seat of the dissatisfaction, in order to smooth things over.

There is an interesting dialogue published in the appendix to Isaac V. Brown's Life of Finley. The characters are Cuffe, William Penn, and Absolam Jones, a negro. The scene is in Heaven, and the subject is African colonization. At the first meeting Cuffe speaks of his labors in behalf of this project; at the second, Penn, having consulted with the shades of Washington and other worthies, espouses its cause. Finally Jones, who has been opposed to the scheme, is converted by his brother spirits — and there is no more discord in Heaven. In

<sup>43</sup> Second Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, pp. 152, 153.

the argument most all the points are touched which later are used in debates on the subject.

Paul Cuffe had by his own efforts transported with their consent free people of color to Africa. He hoped, in this way, to contribute to the civilization of the continent, to the annihilation of the slave-trade and to the happiness of the negroes in America. Instead of commerce in human beings he hoped to see Africa send the products of its fertile valleys and plains, its hills and mountains, its streams and rivers. Before he took the colonists over he had visited the proposed seat of settlement and learned all he could about the country and its people, and had held consultations with Englishmen most interested in African civilization and the destruction of the slave-trade. He had appealed to Congress for assistance and had been denied. The experience of the American Society for the Colonization of the Free People of Color in the United States parallels that of Cuffe in almost every particular. It had the experience of this precursor as a valuable asset and drew copiously from it.

The American Society for the Colonization of the Free People of Color in the United States, which later shortened its name to the American Colonization Society, was organized on December 28, 1816, in the Hall of the House of Representatives at Washington, and held its first annual meeting on New Year's Day, 1818. Its purpose was "to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with the consent) the Free People of Color residing in our Country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient." "The institution is in existence to-day, and has rooms at 450 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C. A number of our most noted statesmen have been members of this Society, among whom were Andrew Jackson, James Madison, and Henry Clay;

<sup>44</sup> Article II of the first Constitution of the American Colonization Society.

the last two served as its head. Although its career has been stormy in debate, and beset with controversy, nevertheless, it has persevered and preserved its organization intact. It received articles of incorporation from Maryland in 1837; and through its efforts over 22,000 blacks have been deported to Africa at a cost of about three million dollars. Its President in 1910 was Dr. Henry L. E. Johnson of the District of Columbia, and the objects of the Society as stated in the present Constitution are "to aid the Colonization of Africa by voluntary colored emigrants from the United States, and to promote there the extension of Christianity and civilization." Within a few years after its organization it planted a settlement on the west coast of Africa, which with subsequent ones received the name of Liberia. This was the beginning of the present Republic of Liberia, the monumental achievement of the American Colonization Society, in whose formation two of the most prominent characters were Samuel J. Mills and Robert Finley.

Both of these gentlemen were in Washington when the American Colonization Society was formed; Finley, who arrived there about the first of December, began the movement, and was soon joined by Mills. Both were in correspondence with Cuffe; in fact, Mills being a personal friend of Cuffe, had been working in conjunction with him in missionary activity, and had travelled a hundred miles to be at his bedside when he died. From childhood on he was constantly in religious work; his mother dedicated him to the service of God as a missionary; as a student in Williams College or when doing graduate work in Yale, he was in a religious environment and in religious activity. The Society for Propagating the Gospel sent him in 1812 with John Schermerhorn on a tour through the South, West, and Middle States, 45 and on this and a second tour, 46

<sup>45</sup> Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 2nd Series, Vol. II, p. 1.
46 Report of a Missionary Tour through that part of the United States which lies west of the Alleghany Mountains (Andover, 1815).

made in 1814-1815 with Daniel Smith, in connection with preaching and distributing Bibles, he observed the conditions among the Indians and negroes, and sought to obtain land in Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana in order to make a test of the utility and practicability of colonizing the blacks. This proved abortive, although he was successful in forming schools among the Indians. Later he established at Parsippany, New Jersey, a seminary for the purpose of training negroes for missionary and educational work, either in the large cities of America or in Africa - a seminary which was under the care of the synod of New York and New Jersey.47 Mills wrote his father at the time of the formation of the American Colonization Society that he was present at the meeting, aiding all he could, and that "a part of my time was occupied in making collections for the African School, writing Paul Cuffe, etc." 48 The Society chose Mills and Ebenezer Burgess to go to Africa and spy out the land and its people. On the return voyage Mills found a grave in the boundless sea. In the diary which he kept while in Africa he compares an intelligent chief to Paul Cuffe, holds up his life as a model to the native king, and writes as follows:

Should a colony be established in this part of Africa, it remains a question whether it should be governed by white men, or whether the people will consider themselves competent to self-government in the first instance. If Paul Cuffe were alive it might settle the question; but unless a judicious man of color can be found, who will secure the confidence of all parties, it will be best to have a white governor.<sup>49</sup>

Mills met the members of the "Friendly Society", which Cuffe had established in 1811, and consulted with them. Two of its leading members, Kitzell and Martin, benefactors of Cuffe's expedition of 1815, accompanied Mills and Burgess as interpreters and guides while they

<sup>47</sup> Richards's Life of Samuel J. Mills (Boston, 1906), p. 190.

<sup>48</sup> Spring's Memoir of Mills, p. 140.

<sup>49</sup> Second Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 54.

were in Africa, presented them to the chiefs, and assisted in the negotiation for land.

The services of Captain Cuffe were essentially valuable then to the course, which one of the founders of the American Colonization Society followed, both in its origin and operation. Robert Finley also found it worth while to consult this negro-Indian philanthropist. He wrote him on the 5th of December soon after he arrived in Washington. Cuffe replied on January 8, 1817, as follows:

I received thy letter of the 5th of ult. not in time to answer thee at Washington. I observed in the printed petition in thy letter, the great and laborous task YOU ARE ENGAGED IN, and my desires are you may be guided by wisdom's best means. I stand as it were in a low place, and am not able to see far. But, blessed be God, who hath created all things and is able to make use of instruments as best pleaseth him, and may I be resigned to his holy will. The population of SIERRA LEONE in 1811, was two thousand, and one thousand in the suburbs. Since that time they have not been numbered; — but from 1811 to 1815, I think that the colony was much improved. They are entitled to EVERY PRIVALIGE OF FREEBORN CITIZENS, AND FILL STATIONS IN THEIR COURTS.<sup>50</sup>

If this is an answer to Finley's letter, the nature of the contents may be inferred. It shows that a most enthusiastic advocate and sponsor of the Society consulted Cuffe. Finley printed three pamphlets on the subject of colonizing the blacks, and doubtless by the "printed petition" referred to by Cuffe is meant one of them. Finley was a graduate of Princeton, and at the time of the organization of the Society was a retired Presbyterian minister. He was appointed President of the University of Georgia in 1816, and died in that State the following year.

Another person, who helped form the Society, became one of its Vice-Presidents, and later was entrusted with some important missions in its cause, was Bishop William Meade, whom every one knows as the author of *Old Fami*-

<sup>50</sup> Brown's Biography of Robert Finley (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 83.

lies, Ministers, and Churches of Virginia. While he was traveling through the South engaged in the formation of societies auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, he read some of Paul Cuffe's letters to the free blacks of Savannah. In South Carolina he met with a negro who had been to Sierra Leone and had seen the emigrants whom Cuffe had carried over. He reported them well and satisfied — information which the Society was always glad to get and publish in order to meet the charges of its enemies that the colonists were dissatisfied and would return to America if they had the opportunity.

In the Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society read at the first annual meeting there is the following acknowledgement of the services of Cuffe, who had died the previous September.

The managers cannot omit the testimony of Captain Paul Cuffe, so well known in Africa, Europe, and America, for his active and large benevolence, and for his zeal and devotedness to the cause of the people of color. The opportunities of Captain Cuffe of forming a correct opinion were superior perhaps to those of any man in America. His judgement was clear and strong, and the warm interest he took in whatever related to the happiness of that class of people is well known. The testimony of such a man is sufficient to outweigh all the unfounded predictions and idle surmises of those opposed to the plan of this society. He had visited twice the coast of Africa, and became well acquainted with the country and its inhabitants. He states that, upon his opinion alone he could have taken to Africa at least two thousand people of color from Boston and its neighborhood. In the death of Paul Cuffe the society has lost a most useful advocate, the people of color a warm and disinterested friend, and society a valuable member. His character alone ought to be sufficient to rescue the people to which he belonged from the unmerited aspersions which have been cast on them. The plan of the society met with his entire approbation, its success was the subject of his ardent wishes, and the prospect of its usefulness to the native Africans and their decendants in this

### 400 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

country was the solace of his declining years, and cheered the last moments of his existence.<sup>51</sup>

When the Honorable Bushrod Washington, the first President of the Society, addressed it at its first annual meeting, he said:

I cannot forbear a momentary tribute of regret to the memory of a man to whom Africa is indebted for a vindication of her capacity for moral and intellectual improvement, and the world for an illustrious example of disinterested benevolence. This event is to be deplored, as the death of Captain Paul Cuffe occurred after his usefulness had been recently manifested by the restoration of fifty of his countrymen to the land of his forefathers—an act which must afford to every Christian society fresh cause for gratitude to that God who inspired this generous African to exercise the councels of universal benevolence.<sup>52</sup>

Hezekiah Niles, the great compiler, inserts the following notice of his demise:

Died at Westport, Massachusetts, on the 7th inst. Paul Cuffe, a very respectable and well known man of color, as a merchant, sea-captain, and philanthropist. He was a member of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, and much esteemed by all classes of people, for his morality, truth, and intelligence.<sup>53</sup>

The Freedman's Emigrant Aid Society of Elizabeth City, North Carolina, incorporated this sentence in one of their addresses when estimating the exertions of Cuffe: "Touched by his influence and example, it was not long before philanthropists and Christians organized colonization societies in nearly every state in the union," <sup>54</sup> and the estimate is little overdrawn.

There is no doubt that "If Captain Cuffe had lived to see the commencement of the colony of Liberia, no man in America would have rejoiced more in the prospect of

<sup>51</sup> First Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 5.William Thornton was at this time one of the managers of the Society.

<sup>52</sup> First Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Niles' Register, Vol. XIII, p. 64.

<sup>54</sup> Address of March 22, 1871.

securing a place for the free people of color where they could enjoy the real blessings of liberty and independence. With the friends of African colonization this man's name should be held in high estimation; as being the first who actually conducted emigrants from the United States to the coast of Africa; and that too at expense of his own funds greater than any other individual had ever laid out, in transporting colonists to that country." 55

This meritorious career is noteworthy in many respects. His attitude toward the colonization of the colored race was favorable: he wished to see the entire number deported to that country; and he would, no doubt, have been a valuable member of the American Colonization Society had not his life been cut short. This is striking when it is considered how lukewarm and indifferent the negro has been to African colonization throughout the existence of the Society. His indifference has become more and more pronounced, and it is highly probable that to-day there are the barest few who look with favor on the scheme. Cuffe had the characteristics of a true philanthropist. The efforts he made to uplift his race are praiseworthy. His attitude toward the Indian is no less commendable. He understood that charity begins at home. The blood of two races whose history is filled with records of oppression and subjection by their superior white brethren coursed the veins of Paul Cuffe, and to their elevation he gave the talent with which a bountiful Providence so plentifully supplied him. His aggressive spirit was rewarded in a financial way so generously that he passed for a wealthy man in his day; and the advance that he made in an educational way is, to say the least, almost without a parallel among the members of his race. His means, his personal character, and his judicious soberness won for him the esteem and the recom-

<sup>55</sup> Alexander's A History of Colonization on the West Coast of Africa (Philadelphia, 1849), p. 47.

#### 402 MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

mendation of his contemporaries. Time has shown that Paul Cuffe consciously aided an unsuccessful scheme; it has also shown that he was unconsciously the precursor of a movement now ornamented by the brightest minds among the black race; and the example of his life might well stimulate the activities of the corps of colored educators who are striving to develop the talents and increase the capabilities of the free blacks now in America. His life is a witness that it is possible for a negro to apply himself steadily to industrial and educational pursuits, not with the object of reaching an equality with some other race, but for the purpose of improving himself and extending his usefulness in the activities of civilization. Prejudice melts away before the heat of industry and perseverance and the fire of attainment.





